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MEMOIRS

OF

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS,

COMPRISING PORTIONS OF

HIS DIARY FROM 1795 TO 1848.

EDITED BY

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

VOL. VI.

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MEMOIRS OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

CHAPTER XIII. (*Continued.*)

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE—SECOND TERM.

JUNE 2d, 1822.—General D. Parker came in, and detained me at an interview of more than three hours. Parker was brought in as Chief Clerk of the War Department by Dr. Eustis. He continued in that office through the period while General Armstrong was Secretary at War, and afterwards while Mr. Monroe was the Secretary. He was afterwards appointed Adjutant- and Inspector-General, with the rank of Brigadier-General. At the reduction of the army last year that office was abolished, and Parker was made Paymaster-General in the room of Towson, who was suddenly turned into a colonel of artillery. But, the Senate having at their late session rejected the nomination of Towson as colonel of artillery, the President nominated him to his old post of Paymaster-General, whereby Parker was removed from it without any other provision being made for him. Both the President and the Secretary of War have reasons for disliking, and, as he evidently thinks, for dreading Parker, and the very day that he was worried out of office by the nomination of Towson to his place, Crawford wrote him a note (6th May), unsolicited on his part, offering him a clerkship of a thousand dollars salary in the Treasury Department, which he declined. He showed me this note of Crawford's, and said he understood its meaning. It was saying to him: This is all I have to give, and this is at your disposal. This avidity of

Crawford to secure Parker in his interest is easily accounted for. He knows that great use may be made of him against both the President and Calhoun. Parker is deeply exasperated at the treatment he has received, and says he has been so long out of all business other than the public service, that he knows not what will become of him. But he manifests no passion; and he kept me during almost the whole of this day telling me, with an air and tone of indifference, what he knew, and intimating what he further could tell. He said he had had a very long interview with the President, in which he had appeared to be excessively sore upon an attack on him in the New York Philosophical and Literary Repository in an anonymous paper written by Armstrong. Parker asked me if I had seen it.

I had, and told him there was a charge in it against Mr. Monroe, in relation to the campaign of 1813, which, in my opinion, amounted to nothing less than treason. Parker said there was in that charge a reference to evidence in his possession; that as to Armstrong's inferences from which the *charge* resulted, he had nothing to do with them. The same facts were compatible with a course of conduct on the part of Mr. Monroe, correct or otherwise. But the facts were as Armstrong had stated them. Neither Armstrong nor Mr. Monroe possessed the documents which would show the full and detailed state of the case; but he himself did possess them very complete. He then gave me an account of his own situation between Mr. Monroe and Mr. Armstrong in 1813 and 1814. They were rival candidates for the succession to the Presidency. But when he observed this the other day to the President, he stopped him, and said, no; he was not a candidate for the Presidency. He had thought he had not due weight in the councils of Mr. Madison, and had supposed the cause of it was his being considered as a candidate for the Presidency. He had, therefore, to remove this cause, requested three of his friends in the House of Representatives, Mr. Pleasants, Mr. H. Nelson, and Mr. Gholson, to inform the Republican members of Congress that he was *not* a candidate. And as by some accident they did not give this notice, he had

requested, in the ensuing year, 1814, Mr. Lacock and Mr. Roberts, the Senators from Pennsylvania, to give it; which they had done. But in 1815, after the conclusion of the peace, and when the same difficulties no longer existed, he had, at the solicitation of his friends, consented to be considered as a candidate. Of this, however, Parker said he had known nothing at the time. In August, 1813, Armstrong, being Secretary of War, had left the city and gone to the frontiers, where he remained until the next January, long after the session of Congress had commenced. Mr. Madison, the President, had gone during the summer into Virginia. Parker's instructions, as Chief Clerk of the War Department, were to consult the President and the Secretary of War by letter when it could be done; and in cases of emergency, when time could not be lost, to consult verbally the Secretary of State. Mr. Monroe, however, became possessed of all the military correspondence of the campaign. Mr. Madison returned to the city in October, and Parker called on him in the evening. He desired Parker to inform the Secretary of State that he wished to see him the next morning. Parker called accordingly at Mr. Monroe's house, and left word there, he not being at home, that the President wished to see him. But Mr. Monroe early the next morning left the city and went to Loudoun, whence he did not return for several days. Mr. Madison then went himself to the Department of State, and, directing all the papers of the military correspondence to be brought to him, ordered the whole of them to be sent over to the War Department. He was more in a passion than Parker ever saw him at any other period of his life, and gave it very distinctly to be understood that he thought that Mr. Monroe had been meddling with the affairs of the War Department more than was proper. It was to this event that the paper in the Philosophical and Literary Repository referred, and Mr. Monroe, Parker said, had intimated to him the other day that he should confer a new office upon him only on condition that he would give some written declaration to discredit Armstrong's statement in the Repository. It had altogether to him the appearance of proposing a bargain; and yet Mr. Monroe had always known his determination to

take no part in the controversies between him and Armstrong. When, after Armstrong's removal, in 1814, Mr. Monroe took the War Department, Parker soon perceived in him a reserve and distrust which ought not to subsist between the head of a Department and its Chief Clerk. He had then candidly exposed his feelings to President Madison, and told him that his general impressions with regard to Armstrong's administration of the War Department having been favorable, Mr. Monroe might naturally feel some reserve and want of confidence in him. He was willing, therefore, to make way for any other person to come into the Department in his place. The office of Inspector-General, with the rank of a Brigadier-General, was then offered him, and he had accepted it. Then the army had been reduced; and he had been prevailed upon to consent to be transferred to the Pay Department; and now Towson was re-appointed Paymaster-General, and he was displaced. He had been with Mr. Calhoun, who had told him that he was perfectly satisfied with him and his conduct, but had intimated to him that the committee of the Senate had been prejudiced against him. But upon Parker's showing decisive proofs to the contrary, by the signature of the Chairman of the committee himself, Calhoun then represented that it was the President who was prejudiced against Parker, and had said that if he should give him a new place it would have the appearance as if he were afraid of him.

Calhoun's anxiety to make Parker believe that any other person than himself was the cause of his not receiving a new appointment sounds oddly to me, who knew from the President himself that he had determined, upon a complaint of Calhoun that Parker had treated him ill, to remove Parker and appoint Joseph L. Smith to his place, even if Towson had been confirmed in his appointment as colonel of artillery. I said nothing about this to Parker, but he appeared to understand Calhoun entirely. He said that after Calhoun had avowedly taken Gibson as a witness to an inquisitional scrutiny about what he had said of his reports, it was in vain for him to talk of being satisfied with him or his friend. Parker said that he should now go to Massachusetts, and in the course of the

summer endeavor to make some arrangements for settling in some business either at Boston or at Philadelphia, but he was determined to come and spend the next winter at Washington and see how things would then be managed. He said Mr. Calhoun was very sanguine in his expectations of succeeding to the Presidency, and believed he had a majority of Congress in his favor. And among the rest of his converts was General Scott, who was now gone to Richmond to ascertain whether by resigning his commission in the army he can obtain an immediate election to the Legislature of Virginia and then into the next Congress. He was in that case to be one of Mr. Calhoun's champions. And he was the author of a paper in the National Intelligencer attacking the majority of the Senate for their proceedings in the case of the rejected nominations. He said Scott had taken great pains to persuade him that Calhoun was friendly to him, and had several times repeated to him Mr. Calhoun had said to him how much he esteemed General Parker, and how fully satisfied he was with his conduct —all which, Parker said, he fully understood.

I said I believed that Mr. Calhoun was too sanguine in his calculations of success as a candidate for the next Presidency. There were in Congress three parties—one for Mr. Crawford, one for Mr. Clay, and one for Mr. Calhoun. They embraced indeed almost the whole. But the party for Mr. Crawford was the strongest, and that of Mr. Calhoun the weakest, of the three. And I had little doubt that the parties of Crawford and Clay would finally coalesce together. Parker said that he had heard Mr. Clay would come again, not only into the next Congress, but probably even to the next session of this Congress.

I said I doubted whether the Cabinet, as it is called, of Mr. Monroe would continue entire through the next session of Congress. Mr. Crawford or Mr. Calhoun, and most probably the latter, would be compelled to resign. Very probably the case might be my own. For the attacks upon me at the late session of Congress had been from masked batteries, but they had been of the most deadly character, and, as they imputed to me as a crime that which I believed to be the greatest service I had rendered my country, I could not possibly foresee

what the next charge against me would be. All I knew was, that it became me to be prepared for my political decease at a moment's warning.

Parker said that General Scott had told him he had read Russell's letter and my remarks upon it with Mr. Hay, and that they agreed in the opinion that I had the best of the argument. He said also that Tench Ringgold, the Marshal, had told him that the President had sent for him and asked him to make search among his (the President's) private papers for Russell's letter—telling him that I had noticed a passage in the duplicate and expressed a belief that it could not have been written at Paris at the time that it was dated. He said the President spoke of me at the same time in terms of great respect and esteem. Parker thought I might therefore rely upon the support of the President; but I told him I must stand upon my own support or not at all. The President had enough to do to support the Secretary of War. He had already brought himself into collision with both Houses of Congress by supporting him. The President had little personal influence in Congress. He was now no longer the centre of hopes and expectations. He was independent of all, and had no lures for retainers or baits for ambition to hold out. Mr. Calhoun's friends had countenanced Russell's attack upon me, though Calhoun himself had disclaimed it; but not a friend of mine, unless it were Eustis, had countenanced the attacks upon Calhoun, and Eustis had certainly not acted in concert with me. Parker said that if Eustis had been as strong as he was ten years ago he would have broken down Calhoun at the last session of Congress, and that he might yet do it at the next. The management of the War Department had been inefficient and extravagant, which was very susceptible of demonstration, and the intrigues of General Brown were sufficiently known—particularly with Colonel Atkinson. He, being a Georgian, had made them known at the time to Crawford, and Crawford had authorized a friend of Parker's to tell him from him that there was an intrigue for turning him out of office. Parker told me further that most of the late attacks upon Calhoun in the Washington City Gazette were written by Richards, once a captain in the

army, and now an expectant of crumbs from the Treasury. I know Crawford has been taking pains to get an office for this man, against whom I have once or twice warned the President. Parker added that Child wrote the pieces in the Gazette against the National Intelligencer; that Asbury Dickens, one of the Clerks in the Treasury, had been called upon by Vandeventer to say whether he was the author of some of the pieces against the Mix contracts, and had denied being so.

This communication from General Parker has been altogether voluntary on his part.

3d. Cabinet meeting at noon—full. The President submitted for consideration some letters from the island of Porto Rico, giving notice of several privateers fitted and fitting out from thence for the purpose, as they state, of capturing the vessels of all nations trading to the ports of the revolutionary party. The questions were, whether a naval force should be stationed to cruise in the Mona passage, and generally in the West India seas, with instructions to protect our vessels, and what the purport of those instructions should be. It appeared by one of the letters that several captures had already been made by the privateers, and one American vessel tried upon some petty charge of having a few articles of cargo not included in the manifest from St. Thomas. It was proved to have been an omission, not of the master of the vessel, but of the custom-house at St. Thomas. The Judge acquitted the vessel. Upon which the captain of the privateer told the Judge that if he liberated the vessel he (the privateersman) would take her again when she should sail, and would carry her into Porto Cabello. Upon which she was again seized, and condemned to pay one-third part of the costs; from which sentence the American captain appealed. The Consul who gives this account observes that if they should condemn for breaches of their revenue laws vessels captured by privateers, no vessel will escape; no regard whatever being had for those laws by any of the custom-house officers.

Mr. Crawford and Mr. Thompson expressed doubts whether instructions could be given to protect vessels against capture for the breach of revenue laws anywhere. I said it was evident

that in this case the charge of infraction of the revenue laws had been a mere pretence. The capture had been by a privateer. When carried into port, the privateersman, of course, took every possible ground to procure the condemnation of the vessel, and, if he could not allege the laws of war, would adduce the laws of revenue. But privateers are not fitted out to protect the revenue laws, nor was the vessel in this case going to Porto Rico. Privateersmen, it was well known, were among the most lawless of mankind. These privateers from Porto Rico evidently belonged to that system of piratical depredation of which the West India seas have for several years been the scene. I thought, therefore, that the instructions to the commanders of our armed vessels ought to be general, to protect our commerce, and not to suffer any of our merchant vessels to be captured unless in a very clear case that they were liable to capture. But the great object was to have the armed vessels there. The sight of their flag and of their guns would give more protection to the trade and save more vessels from capture than any instructions.

It was finally determined that instructions should be given generally to protect the trade, and that several of the public vessels should be ordered to visit the Mona passage occasionally, and to cruise in the neighboring regions.

The next question was about the sum of money to be applied for the negotiation of a treaty with the Cherokee Indians, to obtain cessions of lands for the State of Georgia and indemnities for claims of citizens of Georgia for property stolen from them. This brought up the question again upon the allowance of interest on the award of the Commissioner on the claims of citizens of Georgia against the Creek Indians, and Mr. Crawford immediately assumed in the broadest terms that if interest should not be allowed it would be a refusal merely arbitrary; that the amount of the claims being admitted by the Commissioner, interest upon it was due of course, and to refuse it would be an act merely of will, and not of justice.

Crawford was a Georgian, and was this day quite alone in his opinion, the evidence upon which the Commissioner admitted the claims being not only all ex parte, but such as in

no Court of Justice in the world would be admitted to establish a claim to the value of a half a dollar. The articles lost were negroes, horses, and cattle; many of them lost nearly half a century since; all perishable articles; specific restitution being the only thing stipulated, for which the United States have engaged to make indemnity; no proof having been furnished that any of the individual articles were existing at the time of the engagement to restore them, and the whole being unquestionably valued in the award at more than double their real worth.

Mr. Wirt said that Uncle Sam would fare in this case as he did with most of his dealings—claims admitted without proof, estimated at double their value, and then interest for half a century upon the whole amount of the claim.

I observed that the compensation would amount in most of the cases to about six times the value of the loss. I added that, from the excessive valuation of the articles, I had no doubt that each claimant had, in fixing his estimate, taken into the account his damages consequential to the loss, as well as the value of the article. I believed the ninety thousand dollars admitted by the Commissioner would amply repay all the loss actually sustained. Perfect justice to every individual it was impossible to do, from the nature of the case. Some would receive more, and some must receive less, than they were entitled to, and, unfortunately, the honest and conscientious, who had valued their losses at their real worth, would have less than entire indemnity, and those who had most exaggerated would be most profusely paid. But this could not be helped. Justice, on the whole, would as nearly be done as was practicable.

Mr. Thompson repeated, as his opinion, that interest ought not to be allowed; with which Mr. Calhoun concurred. Calhoun said, however, that if interest should be allowed, the award must be sent back to the Commissioner for a re-examination of the claims upon more rigorous principles of proof and of estimation.

I thought the award ought not to be sent back to the Commissioner. That would only make a double labor, probably

to come to the same result—with more dissatisfaction to the claimants, and no better prospects for the public. The whole of the award should be allowed, and I had no doubt would be full indemnity for the whole of the loss. Crawford made little or no reply, but examined the book of the awards, said he knew personally most of the claimants, and declared the valuation of the articles in almost every case to be at more than double what could have been their real value at the time of the loss. There were some cases, however, in which they were not overvalued. But, he said, he had always believed that the whole loss did not exceed in value fifty thousand dollars.

The President appeared to be much embarrassed in coming to a decision, and said it would certainly give dissatisfaction to the claimants if interest should not be allowed, and to the public if it should. Upon which I observed that in allowing the award of the Commissioner a full written statement should be presented, to be laid before Congress, showing the great liberality with which evidence had been admitted to prove the losses, and the excessive valuation at which they had been estimated, and setting forth the reasons upon which the allowance of interest had been refused. I believed this would be satisfactory to Congress and to the nation, and, if the claimants should press their demand for interest, Congress might make provision for the allowance of it. In the proposed treaty with the Cherokees, the question was at what sum the Commissioners should be limited as that which must not be exceeded in the engagement of the United States to assume the payment of similar losses. The sum in the Creek treaty was limited at two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and Mr. Crawford proposed that the same sum should be the limitation in the Cherokee treaty, though he admitted that the losses by Cherokee depredations had not been probably one-fifth part in value so great as those by the Creeks.

I observed that a limitation of a million, to cover an amount unascertained but known not to exceed a thousand dollars, would be a warning to all concerned to swell as much as possible the real sum to be allowed. I believed the limitation in the Creek treaty had been much too high, and a principal

cause both of the profuse allowances of the award and of the further claims of interest.

The President postponed his determination upon the whole matter.

7th. Mr. Canning paid me one of his long two or three hours' visits, at which he introduced himself by showing me a letter from Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General of Canada, informing him that Samuel H. Wilcocke had been discharged from prison and had left Montreal for the United States. I told Mr. Canning that I was very glad he had been released, though not much gratified at having him as a visitor in the United States.

He spoke also of the recognition of the South American Governments, and intimated that, as no Ministers were sent to these Governments, the recognition of them on our part was not complete. He was evidently anxious to ascertain what we had done and were about to do in this respect; but I did not think proper to gratify his curiosity.

Another subject upon which he spoke was the new instructions which he had received to resume the negotiation concerning the slave-trade. He asked me if I had been informed by Mr. Rush that it was the intention of the British Government to renew the application for admitting the mutual right of search and capture. I said I had, and should be ready to receive any new proposals that he might make, adding, by way of a joke in earnest, that I hoped he would not press them much in hot weather. He spoke of the report of the committee of the House of Representatives in Congress in favor of the right of search, and intimated that there were other members of the Administration less averse to it than I was. I assured him that he was mistaken, as there was no diversity of opinion in the Administration concerning it. He hinted that some, or one of them, had spoken otherwise of it to himself —which is not impossible; but I told him, if they had, it was only by the complaisance of conversation, avoiding to come to a direct issue of opinion.

He said he had understood me to say that I never would sign a treaty agreeing to the principle of a mutual search; but, as he had considered it merely as a strong expression of my

individual opinion, he had not communicated it to his Government in a dispatch which might have been laid before Parliament. I told him that I had no doubt I did say so—not with an expectation that it would be communicated in a dispatch, but merely to make known to him in the most explicit manner my impressions on the subject. I had no objection, however, on my own account, to its being known to Parliament. My individual opinion was of very little consequence, as, by the course of events, in less than three years there will be a total change of the Administration in this country; but I did not think there was one member of the present Administration more willing than I was to agree to the principle of search.

10th. General D. Parker and Major I. Roberdeau were here this morning. Parker told me that he proposed going to-morrow or the next day for Boston, and he wished while there to collect some facts concerning my political career. He said Dr. Watkins had requested him to collect them with a view to make some use of them to show that there had never been any inconsistency in my public conduct. He spoke of a memoir of my life in the Portfolio of January, 1819, and of a paper in the Democratic Press of the 5th of this month, neither of which I had seen. I mentioned to him a general outline of my political course from 1793 to the present time. He said that Mr. Fuller had told him of a conversation that he had some years since with John Lowell, who said that I had never been considered a sound federalist, for that on my first election as a member of the Senate of Massachusetts I had, upon the choice of Councillors, proposed in a federal caucus to select a proportion of the opposite party by way of conciliation. This incident had entirely escaped my recollection, but when mentioned I had an indistinct remembrance of it, and on recurring to my diary I found it noticed 27th May, 1802.[1]

Upon Major Roberdeau's coming in, Mr. Parker went away. Roberdeau's object was to tell me that he had been to Richmond to endeavor to obtain possession, for the War Office, of the late Mr. Tatem's papers; and he brought me a letter from a person having apparently no sort of right to them, yet having

[1] See volume i. p. 252.

a pretension to something like an order for their delivery. I told Major Roberdeau that I could not authorize the delivery of those documents to any one. They had been left by Tatem with Mr. King, of the Department of State, with express injunction to deliver them to no person but himself. There was among them the identical copy of Mitchell's Map used by the Ministers who negotiated the Peace of 1782, and with the boundary pencil-marked by them. This map belonged to the public, and the Department of State was the place where it ought to be deposited. How Tatem had come by it never was explained. He had proposed to sell these documents to the public, but there had been some disagreement about the price to be paid for them. Tatem was now dead, and had left no legal representative entitled to claim the property. The conclusion was natural that, being conscious they belonged to the public, he had placed them where they would be in their possession. Major Roberdeau replied that had been precisely his object, but he had supposed the War Department was the place where it would be proper they should be deposited. The papers that he had found at Richmond were of no value.

The President summoned a Cabinet meeting at one o'clock, which was fully attended. The project of a Convention with France was again discussed. There was some conversation about the terms *gross avoirdupois weights* which I had used, and which Mr. Crawford did not understand. He thought the term "gross" was applicable only to the proceeds of merchandise as correlative to the terms "net" proceeds. Mr. Wirt concurred in this opinion; whence it is evident that the term "gross" as applied to weights is not universally used, and that its use in the Convention might hereafter give rise to questions; it must therefore be omitted, and other words substituted for it.

Mr. Crawford insisted also that the fifty-six and twenty-eight pound weights were never called fifty and twenty-five pound weights, although they are so in the ordinances of his own State of Georgia. But the main object of discussion was upon the Baron de Neuville's proposal of the separate article, that the discriminating duty shall be levied only upon the excess of importations over the value of the exportations by the same

vessel. Mr. Calhoun, by a process of general reasoning, has brought himself to the belief that this article will operate entirely in our favor, and will in substance abolish the discriminating duty entirely. He wished it, therefore, to be made essentially an article of the Convention, and not a separate article. The letter of Enoch Silsby to Degrand strongly objects against this very article, as very unfavorable to our shipping generally, and especially to that of the Eastern shipping interest. But the more these objections were urged, the more Calhoun's passion for the article kindled, till at last he objected against the Convention altogether unless the separate article should be included in it. He thought the discriminating duty of three dollars and seventy-five cents, or twenty francs, per occupied ton, was too high, unless with the deduction provided for in the separate article; and referred to Mr. Gallatin's opinion that we could not bear a discrimination of more than one and a half per cent., and our determination last year not to go beyond that. But I observed that Mr. Gallatin's opinions had since evidently leaned towards further concession, and I had little doubt that our shipping would, even with the duty of twenty francs, obtain a large portion of the trade. My objection always was to the admission of the principle, and I had much less reliance than Mr. Calhoun upon the operation of the separate article in our favor. The practical merchants on both sides evidently saw it in other lights. The Baron had proposed it either by advice from home or by consultation with French merchants residing here. They certainly thought it would operate in favor of France. Silsby was alarmed at it, even supposing it only a duty of three dollars. There was much consideration to be given to the course of trade, and although the separate article offered a premium for a direct return of our vessels from France with cargoes, it could not be obtained but by sacrificing greater profits by a circuitous trade.

Calhoun still persisted with very plausible arguments on his general reasoning, and said, in reference to Silsby's letter, that it might injure *that particular part of the country*, but would equally benefit another; upon which I said, with some temper, that I did not wish to injure *that particular part of the country*.

The President proposed that the article providing for the diminution of the discriminating duty by one-fourth annually should commence the discrimination from the expiration of the two years, instead of one year afterwards, and the project is to be altered accordingly. There was enquiry made whether we could not consult practical merchants in some of the commercial cities before coming to a conclusion; but there is scarcely time, and there are objections to the thing itself. No positive determination was made, but I am to alter the phraseology concerning the weights and the article in which the diminution is stipulated, and then to send the project again to the French Minister. The President had intended to propose again the question whether he should send Ministers to South America; but there was not time. He gave me two Baltimore newspapers urging that the measure should be immediately taken, and asked me to look over them.

11th. General D. Parker was here again this morning, and spoke of his intended journey, of Watkins's projects, and of the article in the Democratic Press of the 5th. He intimated that Watkins, who was a man of honorable mind and of great sensibility, had thought that I had on some occasion checked his enquiries, which were really intended to serve me. He said also that Watkins had the idea of answering that article in the Democratic press by a publication in the same paper.

I said I had a due sense of Dr. Watkins's friendly disposition to me, and I had always so freely answered his enquiries that I had certainly intended no check upon them. But somebody had told me some months since that Dr. Watkins was taking some measures to engage the Aurora, Duane's paper, in my favor; upon which I had requested that Dr. Watkins would take special care to do nothing of that sort as with my consent, for that I had rather have Duane and his Aurora against me than for me. But Duane had lately been here, and, after his return to Philadelphia, had published that overtures from three different sources, to propitiate him in my favor, had been made to him. What he meant, or to whom he referred, I know not, but I suppose Dr. Watkins is one of them; but the mere suspicion of my authorizing any one to tamper for

the support of Duane will do me more harm than he could do me good by a whole life of his friendship. As to Watkins's publishing in the Democratic Press, I had no objection to that, but Binns, its editor, was exasperated against me for having appointed the Franklin Gazette for printing the laws, and Binns himself was greatly discredited by the Republican party in Pennsylvania. Parker goes for Boston to-morrow.

12th. We had as visitors Dr. Tucker, Dr. Thornton, and Mr. William King, the Commissioner upon the Florida Treaty claims. The Commission meet again this week. Mr. King was exceedingly anxious to know how the Convention with France stands, and repeated his unsuccessful enquiries concerning it more than once. He also gave me to understand that he strongly disapproved of Mr. Russell's letter.

14th. At the office I finished the draft of a projected Convention with France, which I sent to the French Minister with a letter proposing to confer with him on the remaining points of difference this day or to-morrow. Received his answer promising to call to-morrow.

15th. I received this morning a note from the President expressing some anxiety for the conclusion of the negotiation with the French Minister. He came to the office at the time appointed, and we discussed in a conference of two hours the project I had sent him of a Convention. His first objection was to the quantities I had assumed as constituting the ton. The proposal of agreeing upon certain quantities of each article as constituting the ton for the discriminating duty was his own; but I had increased the quantities for some of our articles of exportation, and diminished it for some of those of importation. We chaffered upon the articles of wine, brandy, cotton, tobacco, and rice; but, as I thought the object not worth contesting, I told the Baron it was impossible we should differ upon such trifles of detail, and finally acceded to his quantities in almost every case, obtaining, however, some concessions on other points from him. That upon which he made the greatest difficulty was, to admit the charge of brokerage as one of those to be equalized among the charges upon shipping, so that the discriminating duties should not exceed ninety-four cents in

the United States, nor five francs in France. He said he should have all the brokers in France in full outcry against him, and would hardly dare to land at Havre. He said also that this was a private charge, with which the Government had nothing to do. Not more, I replied, than pilotage. The Government compelled our navigators to employ the brokers, and would not permit our Consuls to perform the service for them. The brokers were paid for these services when performing them for their own countrymen; why should they be allowed to charge more to Americans than to Frenchmen? It was only the excess which they would be required to abandon, and that excess must be considered as a public charge, since it was compulsively levied by the authority of the Government; and I reminded him of the controversy between Mr. Beasley and the brokers at Havre, in which there had been a decision of a Minister of State in our favor; though it was afterwards reversed by a judicial tribunal, and we were told that the Minister had transcended his authority.

He said that was Mr. L'Ainé, and finally agreed to let the word brokerage stand upon my consenting to allow eight hundred pounds to pass for the ton of cotton. He objected also to the alteration I had made in his article for delivering up deserting seamen. He had copied his article from that of the old Consular Convention, which authorized the arrest of captains of vessels and others belonging to them, as well as of deserting seamen. I had restricted to these last the liability to be arrested and delivered up. I told him there did not seem to be the same reason for arresting captains and others, officers, or not sailors, and whose desertion could scarcely be a subject of apprehension. He assented to this, but wished that a time might be limited beyond which the deserters themselves should not be detained under arrest—by which his real object seems to be to mark a time to the extent of which they may be detainable. He engaged to propose an article as an amendment to mine, which I promised him would be considered. He made great difficulties about accepting the reduction of the discriminating duties by one-fourth yearly, commencing at the expiration of the two years for which the Convention is positively to

endure. He had proposed the reduction should be only of one-eighth yearly, and to commence not till the end of the third year. He said that he thought a sixth would be better than a fourth, an eighth better than a sixth, and a tenth better than an eighth. He now proposed, however, one-sixth; but I told him this provision was the only thing that reconciled us to the heaviness of the discriminating duty, which would give great dissatisfaction to the people of this country; and that the President, after consulting the Administration, had thought it indispensable to insist upon this part of the article, and, after all, it would commence only when the longer continuance of the Convention would be on both sides voluntary.

He appeared finally to acquiesce, though not explicitly, in the annual reduction of one-fourth. He expressed the wish to make the two separate articles separate also from each other; to which I agreed. His last difficulty was, that I had in the concluding article expressed that the Convention was drawn up original in both languages. He said he was willing to do anything in that respect for which there was a precedent, but heretofore there had been a pretension on the part of France of a preference for the French language. They no longer had any such pretension; but as this express assertion, that both sides were original, was in no other treaty, he was afraid it might make some difficulty in France. I referred him to the former treaties with France, but although they were all signed in both languages, and all, except the Consular Convention of 14th November, 1788, expressly say so, yet all the rest, except the Convention of 30th September, 1800, say they were originally drawn up in French, and that says the signing in both languages shall not be drawn into precedent. He seemed to doubt the propriety of declaring the copies in both languages original.

I told him it was certainly no novelty in French diplomacy; and showed him the discussion between the French and British Commissaries previous to the war of 1755, in which the British Commissaries charge the French with having quoted the Treaty of Utrecht in the French translation instead of the *original* Latin; to which the French Commissaries replied that the French copy was original as well as the Latin.

"Well," said the Baron, "ils avoient tort." He consented, however, after I had shown him this example, to insert the word "original" at the top of the treaty on both sides, as was done in our last treaty with Spain.

With regard to the separate article stipulating only the excess of importations over the exportations as liable to the discriminating duty, I told him the consequence would be that not one French vessel would ever pay the discriminating duty in this country, for they all will carry away cargoes of as much or more value than they will bring. He said he believed the effect would also be that few or none of our vessels would pay the duty in France, but then their commerce would gain what their navigation might lose by it, and he was so satisfied that by consenting to reduce the discriminating duty to twenty francs the French Government had entirely given up the navigating question, that he wished to secure something for any other interest in its stead. It was, after all, only for two years, and in the course of that time the Sanford law, which, by the way, he thought rather indiscreet, would show all the results. He said they had now a similar law, and would have like returns, in France.

He also spoke of the complaint against Lieutenant Stockton and the letter of apology which he had requested on that subject. I told him Lieutenant Stockton was now here, and had made a report of the affair to the Secretary of the Navy, a copy of which I should send him with a letter, which I hoped would prove satisfactory. He promised to send me a final draft of the Convention in both languages, with the modifications as now agreed upon by us, to-morrow.

16th. General Scott told us that he had just returned from Richmond, where he had been to ascertain whether he could be returned to the next Congress. He had received all possible encouragement, but he found that the county in which his friend Archer lived would certainly be brought into the district; and although there was probably no important public question upon which Archer and he would vote on the same side, yet he had been from college days his intimate friend, and he could not possibly think of opposing him. He said

Archer was a Radical and inclined to be Jacobinical, and so, he was sorry to say, was the State of Virginia, though nothing could give him more pain than to differ in opinion upon any subject from the people of Virginia.

We entered into a very earnest discussion upon the question as to the power of Congress to make internal improvements in the country by roads and canals. He avowed his concurrence with the opinion of the President, that Congress had the power of appropriating money to make the roads, but not to make them; which, I told him, was saying that they had the right to use the means, but not to enjoy the end. I asked him also several questions, till he said he did not like the Socratic mode of reasoning.

The Count de Menou brought me this evening the draft of a Convention in both languages from the French Minister. It is drawn up as we had agreed yesterday; but he has copied the article concerning seamen from the old Consular Convention.

18th. Note from the President of the United States, urging me to sign the Convention with France. I sent to ask the French Minister to call at the office, which he did. I proposed to him an enlargement of the articles concerning the discriminating duties, so as to make them applicable to merchandise other than the produce and manufacture of the two countries. But he declined agreeing to it; said his instructions would not admit of it, and had very recently limited him expressly to the productions of the two countries only. I had found that he had fixed the weight of tobacco to the ton much too low, and Mr. Yard had urged that it should be raised from fifteen hundred to two thousand pounds. He insisted that he had returns from various places which made it only thirteen and fourteen hundred pounds. All the accounts I had consulted made it near two thousand, and one, much more. We agreed to have the copies of the Convention made out, leaving those quantities in blank, to be filled upon further information. I drafted a circular to send to several Collectors in the neighborhood to ascertain the fact.

The Baron asked me when I should write to him on the

complaint against Lieutenant Stockton; spoke also of the case of the Apollon, and of the claim under the eighth article of the Louisiana Treaty, expressing the wish to settle all these questions before he goes away. I promised him an answer in the case of Stockton, but proposed to leave the other affairs in statu quo. I spoke to him of the disturbance of our fishermen by French armed vessels on the coast of Newfoundland, and told him I should write to Mr. Gallatin on the subject. He said he had spoken to me or to Mr. Rush concerning it several years ago; but that he would look into the subject, and was disposed to do anything in it for our accommodation.

19th. This subject of the fisheries is absorbing so much of my attention that it encroaches upon my other necessary occupations. But I cannot give too deep attention to it. "What in me is dark, illumine; what is low, raise and support." Going to the President's I met Mr. De Menou, who was going to my office. He said the Baron de Neuville had heard the President was going to Virginia, and, as he was going himself soon to France, he wished before the President's departure to have an audience of him to take leave. At one o'clock I presented Mr. Manuel Torres as Chargé d'Affaires from the republic of Colombia to the President. This incident was chiefly interesting as being the first formal act of recognition of an independent South American Government. Torres, who has scarcely life in him to walk alone, was deeply affected by it. He spoke of the great importance to the republic of Colombia of this recognition, and of his assurance that it would give extraordinary gratification to Bolivar.

The President invited him to be seated, sat down by him, and spoke to him with kindness which moved him even to tears. The President assured him of the great interest taken by the United States in the welfare and success of his country, and of the particular satisfaction with which he received him as its first representative. The audience was, as usual, only of a few minutes; and Mr. Torres on going away gave me a printed copy of the Constitution of Colombia.

I told the President of the French Minister's desire to have an audience to take leave, which he promised to give before he

should go to Virginia. He also directed a Cabinet meeting for to-morrow at one o'clock to consider again the question whether Ministers shall immediately be sent to the South American Governments. On returning to the office, I wrote a paragraph to be inserted in the National Intelligencer to-morrow, announcing the reception of Mr. Torres by the President, and prepared a letter to the French Minister on the complaint against Lieutenant Stockton.

20th. Cabinet meeting at one o'clock. Mr. Crawford, being indisposed, did not attend, and Mr. Wirt is absent from the city. Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Thompson were present. The President proposed again the question whether Ministers should forthwith be sent to the Southern republics. The opinions of Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Thompson were both against the measure—Calhoun chiefly because there appeared to be no urgent necessity for it, and because there was no strong manifestation of public sentiment for it. He observed there were only two or three newspapers, and those not leading prints, that were clamorous for it, and in general the public acquiesced in the course now pursued by the Executive. Mr. Thompson's objection arose from a doubt of the power of the President to appoint a Minister during the recess of the Senate.

I observed that my opinion had been that we should *receive* a Minister from the South American Governments before sending one. As this opinion, however, had not been much countenanced, I did not wish to hold it too pertinaciously, and with regard to the republic of Colombia there was less reason to be punctilious, as, having received from them a Chargé d'Affaires, the mere appointment of a person of higher rank to go there would be less of a departure from the regular order of establishing diplomatic intercourse than it would be to be first in making *any* diplomatic appointment. I should not object to the appointment of a Minister on that account, and I thought a Minister to the republic of Colombia ought to be appointed now, or at the meeting of Congress. I supposed that a treaty of commerce might be negotiated with that republic, but I should not propose or desire to obtain by it any exclusive advantages. Mutual advantage and reciprocity are all that we

ought to ask, and all that we can be willing to grant. As to running a race with England to snatch from these new nations some special privilege or monopoly, I thought it neither a wise nor an honest policy. Do what we can, the commerce with South America will be much more important and useful to Great Britain than to us, and Great Britain will be a power vastly more important to them than we, for the simple reason that she has the power of supplying their wants by her manufactures. We have few such supplies to furnish them, and in articles of export are their competitors. Yet I was not apprehensive that England would obtain from them any exclusive advantages to our prejudice. They had no partialities in favor of England: they were jealous of her. England would be in no hurry to send Ministers to them, unless prompted by our example and for fear of us. The British Ministry were embarrassed by our recognition of the South Americans, as was apparent from a late debate in the House of Commons. The French Government were equally so; and Zea had taken the most effectual means of compelling their acknowledgment, by letting them know that those who should acknowledge would have all their trade.

As to the question of appointment during the recess of the Senate, the *words* of the Constitution were against the exercise of the power; the *reason* of the words is in its favor. At the close of the session of the Senate before the last, they had no such scruple of the power of the President to appoint during the recess; for at the last hour of their session they passed a resolution recommending such an appointment. At their late session, however, a different doctrine did prevail with them; and, as with it some temper had been mingled, it was very probable if an appointment should now be made they would pass a negative upon the nomination.

Mr. Thompson said he had no doubt they would reject it; that at the last session they had been unanimous in their opinion against the President's right. The President read a passage of a letter that he had received from Mr. Madison upon the subject. It mentioned that there had been an occasion upon which the question had been thoroughly examined

by the Executive, and determined in favor of the right; but did not say when, nor under what Administration. Nothing definite was resolved upon; but the President desired me to converse further with Mr. Torres, and ascertain whether a Minister will probably be sent from Colombia here.

After Calhoun and Thompson were gone, I proposed to the President that the mission to the republic of Colombia, whether to be appointed now or at the meeting of Congress, should be offered to Mr. Clay. I thought it doubtful whether he would accept it—very probable that he would make no delicate or generous use of it—and that the comments upon the offer, both of his partisans and of others, would be various, and in many cases invidious. But, upon the whole, the effect upon the public would be favorable. He wanted the offer. The Western country wished it might be made to him. His talents were eminent; his claims from public service considerable. The republic of Colombia, and particularly Bolivar, with whom he has been in correspondence, will be flattered by his appointment, or even by information that he had the offer of it. In the relations to be established between us and that republic, Mr. Clay's talents might be highly useful; and I did not apprehend any danger from them.

The President appeared to be well disposed to take this course. He said that Mr. Clay's conduct towards him and his Administration had not been friendly or generous, but he was disposed entirely to overlook that. He stood upon ground quite independent of Mr. Clay, and as he had never needed his support, he had never felt the want of it. He would consider of the proposal to offer him the mission, and was not indisposed to it.

As to myself, Clay's conduct has been always hostile to me, and generally insidious. From the time of the Ghent negotiation I have been in the way of his ambition, and by himself and his subordinates he has done all in his power to put me out of it. In pursuing a generous policy towards him, as an enemy and a rival, I do some violence to my inclination, and shall be none the better treated by him; but I look to personal considerations only to discard them, and regard only the public interests.

21st. I received a note from the President, directing me, after my letter to the French Minister about Stockton's seizures should be written, to see the Baron and show it to him, so as to arrange the matter to his satisfaction, to avoid a correspondence which might delay the conclusion of the Convention. Now, this was undertow, through Crawford, or through Thompson, the Secretary of the Navy. De Neuville has worked through this negotiation chiefly by such means. He has wormed out of us a Convention which will give great dissatisfaction here, and far less favorable to us than I could have obtained but for this countermining. Crawford has all along hung like a dead weight upon the negotiation. A bad Convention was precisely the thing suited to his interest. A good one would have been highly creditable to the Department of State. He has invariably been for conceding everything, for agreeing to everything demanded by France; and now he is for making humiliating concessions upon the complaint against Stockton. Thompson has not the same motives, but there is a Secretary of the French Legation intimate in his family, and that gives access to the President through another whispering-gallery. Such is the way of the world! Winding-stairs in every direction. I am sure the President has been beset by a back door, from this note. It came too late, however. My letter to the Baron was already dispatched—of which I am glad, for it is very obvious that after writing him a letter quite sufficiently apologetic, to send for him, show it to him, and ask him if that was enough, would be no other than an invitation to him to insist upon more.

I called upon Mr. Torres at Brown's Hotel, and found him anxious to return to Philadelphia immediately. He said he had no medical assistance here, and was not comfortably lodged. If there was, therefore, no objection on the part of this Government, he should be glad to go to-morrow morning. I said there was no reason for detaining him to the injury of his health, and the President would wish him to consult that altogether. He said he had again received instructions to propose a treaty of commerce, founded altogether upon principles of reciprocity. I told him that the proposal would be

received with the most friendly consideration, and asked him if he had prepared his representation upon the subject. He had not, but said he would send it to me from Philadelphia. He said a Minister would undoubtedly soon be sent to this country from the republic of Colombia. He thought it would be Mr. Salazar.

I showed him the paper sent me by General Smith, of Baltimore, containing the ordinance of the Congress, in which a discrimination of duties is made in favor of merchandise imported from *Europe;* and, observing that this discrimination was disadvantageous to the United States, requested him to write to his Government concerning it—which he promised he would. He said he was sure it was a mere inadvertence, not intended to operate against the United States. He had no doubt but that importations from the United States were under that article of the ordinance considered as articles imported from Europe; but he would nevertheless write immediately, and was persuaded all doubt upon the subject would be removed as soon as the case should be stated.

22d. I sent to the Baron Hyde de Neuville, requesting him to call at my office; which he did. I told him I had received answers to my enquiries concerning the weight of tobacco usually going to a register ton of shipping, and would accept his offer of putting it down at sixteen hundred pounds avoirdupois, which is one hundred more than he had fixed it. He chaffered about it for some time, but finally consented. I asked him if he had received my letter concerning the affair of Lieutenant Stockton, and its enclosures. He said he had; but intimated that my letter contained no offer of satisfaction, and said he should reply to it. He appeared rather out of humor with it, and half hinting that he should insist upon something more. I said I supposed he would not wish to exact from us anything humiliating. We had assured him that Lieutenant Stockton seized the vessels mistaking them for Americans; that, to avoid any such mistakes for the future, express orders had been issued to all our naval officers to seize no vessel under a foreign flag. Without self-debasement we could not do more.

He said what he wanted was complete satisfaction, so that the English might not have the pretence that the French flag had ever been subjected to search.

From the tone of his argument, I was confirmed in the conviction that he had been in communication indirectly with the President on the subject. I proposed to him, however, and he agreed, to come to the office and execute the Convention next Monday at two o'clock. I took to the President a copy of the Convention as prepared for execution, that he might examine it between this and Monday.

24th. Last evening I received a long letter from the French Minister about the complaint concerning Lieutenant Stockton. He accepts for disavowal and satisfaction the last letter I wrote him, agrees to leave other subjects for future discussion, and to sign the Convention this day. This morning he sent a translation of his letter, which Mr. Brent brought to my house. At one o'clock the Baron Hyde de Neuville, the French Minister, came with De Menou, and we executed four copies of the Commercial Convention in both languages. Two copies had been made by Mr. Ironside at the office, and two at the French Legation. Some small corrections were necessary to make them all uniform. The alternative was preserved throughout. Both copies were signed and sealed by both parties, and both as originals. In the examination of the copies, the Baron held one of ours, and I one of theirs; Mr. Brent the other of theirs, and Menou the other of ours. Menou read the French copy, and Mr. Brent ours. We found the usual inconveniences of sealing the inside of the papers with wax, and in more than the usual degree, as there were two separate articles, each separately executed.

The Baron observed to Menou that this day was my festival day—St. John's day—the Baptist. He said his own name was John, too; but from the Evangelist. As we sealed on both sides of the paper, it happened in one of the copies that by the turning of a leaf his seal and mine adhered together, so that they could not be parted. I told him it was *de bon augure*—which he took as a compliment. We interchanged the copies, he taking one of his own and one of ours, and we the same.

Mr. De Bresson afterwards came, and offered to take any dispatches for France. He goes as a messenger with the Convention, and said he expected to return here with the ratification before the commencement of the session of Congress in December. I made a draft of a proclamation of the President suspending the operation of the Act of Congress of the 15th of May and other discriminating duties upon French vessels and merchandise imported in them from the 1st of October until the end of the next session of Congress. But a question occurred as to the extent of the President's authority, upon which I must consult him.

25th. At one o'clock I presented the Baron Hyde de Neuville to the President to take leave. He was attended by the Count de Menou, Hersant, and Laborie. He addressed the President in a set speech, in substance much the same as that which he had made two years ago. He said that in 1807 he had found a refuge in this country as an exile, and then he had formed a strong and affectionate attachment to it; that in 1815, after the return of peace and order in his own country, the King, who, like his brother, had always felt the most friendly dispositions towards the United States, had cast his eyes upon him for his representative here, knowing him to be the sincere and faithful friend of both countries; that his conduct here had been invariably inspired by those sentiments; that as his mission to Brazil had not taken place, he had not received from his Government letters of recredence, and he came therefore now to take only a temporary, and not a final leave; that if a sincere and earnest attachment to this country, and a heartfelt respect for the virtues of its Chief Magistrate, could give him any claim to his good opinion, he was conscious of deserving it; that the Count de Menou was the person whom he should present as the Chargé d'Affaires of France during his absence, and he would be the faithful interpreter of the same sentiments on the part of the French Government as those he had expressed.

The President answered without premeditation, that he was extremely gratified to hear the expression from *him;* that from the King, his sovereign, the United States, as well as from his brother, had never received anything but kindness; that we

remember it, and will remember it; that our most earnest desire is to be upon terms of the most perfect cordiality with France; that as for himself, we should always recollect his residence here with pleasure—his conduct had always been satisfactory, and such as to warrant the perfect sincerity of what he had now said; that he, the President, rejoiced at the Convention which he had concluded with us, and hoped it would lead to the best understanding between the two countries; that as to the discussions which had taken place with him, we had always considered him as maintaining the interest of his country. We had been in similar situations ourselves; we considered the earnestness which he had manifested as merely the discharge of his duty, and retained no unkind feeling towards him on that account. As to the affair of the seizure of the French vessels by Lieutenant Stockton, we much regretted it. The orders to our officers had only authorized them to capture American vessels. It was a mistake. Orders had been since sent to all our naval officers to capture no vessel under a foreign flag, and we had made to France all the reparation in our power. With regard to himself, as he was going home, he would be assured that we wished him well; and I should write to our Minister in France to the same effect. We should also take pleasure in communicating with the Count de Menou, who he had no doubt would continue to cherish and promote the most friendly relations between the two countries.

The Baron then took his leave with his suite, and, as I followed him from the drawing-room into the next apartment, asked me if he could have what the President had just said to him in writing. I said I would mention it to the President, and observed that it would then be necessary that he should also communicate his speech in writing. On returning to the President, I told him of the Baron's request, and the President said he would give the substance of it in writing as far as he could recollect it.

The Portuguese Chargé d'Affaires, Amado, came to the office with the Consul-General, Joaquim Barroso Pereira, whom he presented to take his place, he having received permission to return to Lisbon. He also informed me that Mr. Da Costa,

whom he had presented to me last March, was now gone to Brazil. He asked also when he could be presented to the President to take leave; upon which I promised to take the President's directions and inform him. The President approved of the proclamation to issue with the French Convention.

26th. Baron Stackelberg, the Swedish Chargé d'Affaires, came and spoke of a note which I lately received from him, enclosing the copy of a letter to him from Count Engeström declaring the determination of the Swedish Government not to admit a Consul of the United States at the island of St. Bartholomew. I told him I should answer his note, and hoped his Government would reconsider their determination. He recurred to the reasons assigned by Engeström, that foreign Consuls were excluded from the island because it was a colony, and because during the French Revolution a Consul from France had been admitted there, and had proved very troublesome by his turbulence.

I observed that neither of these reasons could justify the refusal to receive an American Consul at St. Bartholomew's; that European Governments excluded foreign Consuls from their colonies because foreign commerce with them was interdicted. Where there was no commerce, there could be no need of a Consul; but where commerce was allowed, the Consul followed of course—as much so as an army implied a general. Now, the Swedish Government not only allowed foreign commerce with St. Bartholomew's, but in the treaty between the United States and Sweden that island was specially named. Its inhabitants, their vessels and their merchandise, were entitled to the same advantages in the United States as those of Sweden, and the citizens of the United States were entitled to the same in the island as in Sweden. The province of a Consul was to secure in effect to the people of his nation the real enjoyment in foreign ports of the commercial advantages to which they were entitled by treaty, or by the laws of nations, and the people of the United States had, in fact, more commerce with the island of St. Bartholomew than with the whole kingdom of Sweden. I saw, therefore, no more reason for excluding an American Consul from St. Bartholomew's than a

Swedish Consul from New York; and if American citizens were denied the benefit of an official protector in the island, why should the people of the island have the right to the support of a Swedish Consul in the United States?

The Baron had little to say in reply to all this, and admitted that he had thought a Consul would be admitted, though he supposed the Government reserved to itself the right of granting the exequatur.

Mr. Gales, of the Intelligencer, came to propose that the President's proclamation and the Convention with France, which were published in the paper this morning, should be printed over again the day after to-morrow, the publication of this morning, particularly the French part of the Convention, being full of errors. There is also a material error in the proclamation itself, for which I am myself responsible, the draft being incorrect. Neither the President nor Mr. Crawford had discovered it, nor did I till I read the proclamation in print—when it immediately struck me. I agreed with Gales that the whole proclamation should be reprinted, and I would correct the press myself; and that notice should be given in the paper of to-morrow that the publication of this morning was incorrect. I took care also to have the error in the proclamation corrected in the City Gazette of this afternoon.

I called at the President's, and met there Mr. Thompson, the Secretary of the Navy. They were much concerned at a publication in the Intelligencer of this morning, by Lieutenant Stockton, of the principal part of his letter to me in vindication of his seizure of the French slave vessels. The Baron de Neuville is much disturbed at this publication, especially as appearing at this time; and it worries the President. The Baron did not this day present the Count de Menou to me as Chargé d'Affaires, as had been yesterday agreed between us. He sent word by Menou that he would present him another day, being now much occupied, and Madame de Neuville being ill.

28th. Cabinet meeting at noon. Wirt only absent. The President unwell. The question for consideration was on the proceedings of the Senate, at their last session, upon several military nominations—of Colonels Fenwick, House, and Eustis.

They were nominated to rank from the 25th of April, 1822, to the command of particular regiments. The Senate divided the questions, advised and consented to the first member of the nomination, and negatived the date of the rank. A desultory discussion took place on various questions arising from these transactions. Had the Senate a right to divide the nomination by the President into two parts? To take two questions upon it? to confirm one and reject the other? Was it not equivalent to the rejection of the whole? What was the first member of the nomination? was it the simple nomination as colonel, or as colonel of the specified regiment?

Mr. Calhoun thought it was the mere nomination as colonel, and likened it to a nomination by the President of a person as Minister to France upon which the Senate should advise and consent to him as Minister to England. Mr. Thompson thought at first that this was equivalent to a rejection of the nomination; and I inclined to the same opinion. Calhoun considered the Senate as having undertaken to decide that the commissions should rank from the time of the new arrangement of the army last summer.

But upon further examination I found that the resolutions of the Senate explicitly confirmed the nominations, not only of the rank, but to the regiments specially designated; and that they negatived nothing more than the date of rank. They designated no other date of rank, and clearly could not by the Constitution.

Mr. Crawford and Mr. Calhoun for some time insisted that in the report of the Committee of the Senate, and in other proceedings of the Senate itself, connected with the subject, they had undertaken to designate the time when the commissions should commence, and a different arrangement of corps. All, however, at last assented that the confirmation was of everything but the date of rank; and that the commissions might issue dated from the day of the confirmation.

The President once or twice intimated the wish to have the opinion of each member of the Cabinet in writing, as it was a Constitutional question, and Mr. Calhoun, to the last, urged the danger of the precedent on the part of the Senate, which

he considered as an attempt to usurp upon the President the right of nomination itself. The President also expressed something of a similar apprehension.

I finally observed to him that by dating the commissions from the day of the confirmation nothing would be conceded to the Senate. It will be merely assuming that they have confirmed the nominations. The *date* of rank may be considered as a point unadjusted between the President and the Senate, and not essential to the appointment; by which means a further and most unpleasant misunderstanding and altercation with the Senate will be avoided. If the President should finally decide to consider the nominations as confirmed, and date the commissions from the day of the Senate's confirmation, it would be best perhaps not to require written opinions from each member of the Administration; but if he should consider the nominations as rejected, it will undoubtedly be necessary.

The President said he would reflect upon it, and come to his decision at leisure.

29th. Mr. Canning had written me a note yesterday requesting to see me. I appointed this day at one, and he came. It was to take up the subject of the slave-trade. He said from the communications of Lord Londonderry to Mr. Rush it appeared that his Lordship believed that one main difficulty which had been made on our part to the arrangements proposed by Great Britain might be removed—that is, the trial by the mixed Courts; and he hoped, therefore, that we should be willing to yield the other point, the limited and reciprocal right of search.

I told him that any proposition that he had to make upon that subject would be received with the most respectful and friendly consideration. He gave me, however, to understand that he had no proposition to make, and he evaded answering the question which I put, what was Lord Londonderry's proposed substitute for the mixed Courts. With some circumlocution he came finally to the statement that he expected a new proposition from us. This had so much the appearance of a trick, that it heated me. I said to him—

"Mr. Canning, there is nothing I like so well as a straight-

forward course. We have seen no cause to change our opinions upon any of the points which have been so fully discussed between us. We have no new proposition, therefore, to make. It is one thing to make a proposition, and another to ask that a proposition should be made. When the Marquis of Londonderry, therefore, gave notice to Mr. Rush that it was proposed to resume the correspondence upon the slave-trade, we certainly expected that the British Government was prepared to make some new proposition to us. We are not prepared to make any to them. I could make none without authority from the President, and the President, I was persuaded, would authorize none without consulting all the members of the Administration."

He asked me then whether I declined discussing the matter further with him. I said, no; I was willing to hear, and would faithfully report to the President, anything that he wished to say to me.

He took from his pocket some printed documents laid before Parliament—correspondence from British officers at Sierra Leone, containing lists of slave vessels examined on the coast of Africa, under French and Portuguese colors, and actively engaged in the slave-trade—and he launched into a strong and general invective against the trade.

I observed that in the lists contained in the papers there was not a single vessel under American colors, and alleged this circumstance as a proof of the efficacy of the measures adopted by us to suppress the use of our flag in the trade, which is all that could be accomplished by our agreeing to the right of search and the mixed Courts. I remarked that it was evident from these papers that if we had, two years ago, signed treaties with Great Britain like those which she had obtained from Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands, there would not have been one slave vessel the less upon these lists. Search and the mixed Courts, therefore, would have effected nothing for the suppression of the trade, which has not been effected without them.

He said that a main purpose for which they wished to obtain our assent to the principle of search was, that it might be urged

as an example to France. I said that we should rather wish France to adhere to her principles in this respect than to give them up. He asked if I could conceive of a greater and more atrocious evil than this slave-trade. I said, Yes: admitting the right of search by foreign officers of our vessels upon the seas in time of peace; for that would be making slaves of ourselves. We went over this ground again, as we had often done before, repeating on both sides the same arguments as before; he particularly repeated that many persons in this country were in favor of conceding this right of search, and alleged the two successive reports of committees of the House of Representatives in its favor. I merely said that there were other views upon which those reports could be accounted for. I finally desired him to leave with me his Parliamentary printed paper, which I wished to take to the President, to whom I promised him to make a full report of this conference.

We conversed also upon the report of the Commissioners under the fifth article of the Treaty of Ghent; upon the Convention recently signed by me and the French Minister; upon the question of arbitration depending before the Emperor of Russia; and upon certain charges made by the British Consul at New York, of which the merchants there complain, concerning which I had received in March a letter from Mr. Bayard, President of the Chamber of Commerce in that city. This letter in the hurry of business had been overlooked and forgotten, and this morning I received a letter from Charles King reminding me of it. I gave Mr. Canning Mr. Bayard's letter, and told him that the charges made by the Consul at New York were not made by other Consuls, and that we did not allow our own Consuls abroad to make them, although they received no salaries. The merchants considered it a charge upon their commerce. If he could cause it to cease, it would render an application to his Government through Mr. Rush unnecessary.

He said, though it was properly the business of the Consul-General, as Mr. Baker was sick he would attend to it. He said Lord Londonderry had understood it as our desire that the subject of the difference between the Commissioners under the

fifth article of the Treaty of Ghent should be treated here, for which he had therefore been empowered; but he had already informed me that the British Government could not concede the points maintained by their Commissioner on this article as they had on the sixth article.

I said that my instruction to Mr. Rush had merely been to consult the British Government to ascertain whether they were disposed to make an effort to adjust this difference by a negotiation before resorting to the arbitration stipulated by the treaty. I had not expressed any preference as to the place of the negotiation; though as the Commission had been held here, and as all the documents were in this country, there would obviously be a convenience in pursuing the subject here. But I was not prepared to take it up myself, and it would take weeks, if not months, of investigation to make myself master of it. I had not contemplated being charged with it myself, but that it should be referred to Commissioners, who might have no other public duty to absorb their time, and with powers to propose mutual concessions to the two Governments.

Upon our recent Convention with France Mr. Canning discovered some curiosity, and made some shrewd remarks. He said that although it purported only to begin from the 1st of October, yet, by the article stipulating to refund the duties levied upon the respective tonnage and cargoes by the existing laws, it would in effect begin from the time of the signature of the Convention. I said there might be a question whether the article for refunding the extra duties could be construed to apply to duties levied after the signature of the Convention. By its letter, it applied only to those levied before. He observed then that he believed one of the most difficult things in the world was to draw up the articles of a treaty, and particularly to avoid stipulating more than is intended. And he cited the article which we have in arbitration before the Emperor of Russia as a memorable example of this; for the British Plenipotentiaries never would have agreed to the article if they had been aware that it was susceptible of the construction upon which we now insist. I said it was certainly then the fault of Dr. Adams and Mr. Goulburn, who were intelligent

men, and who were bound to see the purport of our proposed amendment. I added that we should not have signed the Peace without it; which he seemed inclined to doubt. I told him they had no right to carry away private property or to emancipate slaves. He said, banteringly, that if he were at war he would emancipate every slave he could find. "Then," said I, "I would never make peace with you till you paid for them. But who are you, to talk of emancipating slaves?" He said they had none. "And what are your West India islands? What would you say if we should land in Jamaica and emancipate your slaves?" "Ay, but," said he, "we do not mean to let you land in Jamaica." "Not if you can help it," said I. "Do no right and take no wrong, I have heard was the English sailor's motto."

This conversation lasted about three hours, and as Mr. Canning went out the Baron Hyde de Neuville came in with the Count de Menou, whom he presented as Chargé d'Affaires of France. He began immediately upon Lieutenant Stockton's publication in the National Intelligencer on the very same page with the Convention, and complained of it bitterly. He said that at the moment of his going away he was very unwilling to complain, and he was highly gratified with the message that the President had sent him; but that this publication, appearing on the same page in the same paper with the Convention, would have in this country and in Europe the appearance as if it had been a part of the bargain; that it would prejudice the tribunals against the persons criminated in Stockton's letters, and take from them the chance of having a fair trial; that he was convinced two of the vessels had been upon voyages wholly innocent, and that, although he was bound to take Lieutenant Stockton's word of honor that he had taken them for American vessels, there were circumstances leading strongly to the conclusion that he was willing to take them, knowing them to be French.

I told him that the publication had been made by Stockton himself without the knowledge of any member of the Government; that he had done it only for his own vindication, he having been severely censured in the newspapers for having

made those captures; that he had only used the liberty of the press, and that his publication had been much less exceptionable as related to the French Government than that of Captain Edou, in the Moniteur last winter, against the President's message to Congress.

He said Edou's paper had not been published in the Moniteur, and that Edou was not an officer in the service. Lieutenant Stockton, he thought, deserved punishment for publishing an official paper without the permission of his Government. I said that might be an offence against the discipline of the service, for which he was accountable to his Government.

He finally said he did not wish to *write* to me on the subject, but hoped I should give him some explanation concerning it before his departure. He left me in rather an indifferent humor—this incident being very much of what the French call a *contretemps*.

July 1st. I received from Boston Jonathan Russell's reply to my remarks upon his letters communicated to Congress. It is published in the American Statesman, a newspaper printed at Boston, of which Henry Orne is the editor. The paper is of the 27th of June. Orne is a young lawyer of some talents, and a political adventurer of whom Mr. King has made a partisan for Crawford for the succession to the Presidency. Russell's reply is as full of falsehoods and misrepresentations as his letter from Paris. But he admits the interpolations in his duplicate. He attempts to represent me as having tricked him into the delivery of his letter at the Department as a duplicate; and, having no sort of regard to truth, he has made up a plausible tale of new accusation against me, to which I must again reply. It is a great mortification to me to have a large portion of the time which ought to be devoted to the discharge of my public duties absorbed in necessary self-defence. This is a miserable plot against me, devised by Clay at Ghent, and in which he has made a tool of Russell. Clay and Russell are the eagle and the worm of Herder's fable: Clay soars and Russell *crawls* to the top of the mountain. I began upon a rejoinder to Russell's paper this evening.

2d. Mr. Tazewell and Mr. W. King, two of the Florida Treaty

Commissioners, called at the office to take leave. They have adjourned till September. Mr. King had some conversation with me concerning the difference between the American and British Commissioners under the fifth article of the Treaty of Ghent. I told him of its present situation and prospects. The stipulation of the treaty was, that if the Commissioners should disagree upon their report, it should be referred to the decision of a friendly sovereign. But, as this must be attended with great difficulties, we proposed to the British Government to make a previous effort to adjust the affair by negotiation. To this the British Government have agreed, but with a notification that they are not disposed to yield upon the point made by their Commissioner on this article as they had with regard to the sixth—which seems almost equivalent to saying that it is useless to negotiate. I told King that I expected we should be obliged to resort to the umpire, and that it would be necessary to resort to some mode of obtaining his decision. I had thought of proposing that it should be by a commission of three persons, one to be appointed by the British and one by the American Government, and the third by the umpire, the Commissioners to sit in this country, and to make to the umpire sovereign the report, upon which his decision shall be founded. Mr. King approved very warmly this proposal.

6th. Mr. Canning came, and had much conversation with me respecting the disagreement between the Commissioners under the fifth article of the Treaty of Ghent, and respecting the contemplated renewal of negotiation for the suppression of the slave-trade; that is, to obtain from us the stipulation admitting the mutual right of search.

I told him I would enter upon this latter subject with him when he pleased, but hoped he would postpone it till cooler weather. As to the Commission under the fifth article of the Ghent Treaty, it would be occupation for the summer to obtain a correct knowledge of the points upon which the Commissioners have disagreed, and, after all, we should probably be obliged to take the course stipulated by the treaty, of reference to a friendly sovereign. I mentioned to him what I thought would be the most convenient mode of making this reference:

by the appointment of three Commissioners, one by the Government of the United States, one by the British Government, and the third by the umpire sovereign; the Commission to sit in this country, and the decision to be made upon the report of a majority of them.

Mr. Canning did not state any positive objection to this proposal, but it did not appear altogether to please him. There is a large trunk full of books, thirty folio volumes at least, reported, with the disagreeing opinions of the Commissioners. The question upon the construction of the first article of the Ghent Treaty was merely a question of the grammatical meaning of a written sentence. Nothing could be more simple, and a sovereign could decide it in person as well as by Ministers or Commissioners. But a complicated question about the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, the northwesternmost head of Connecticut River, the geocentric latitude, charters of English Colonies, proclamations and Acts of Parliament, geographical surveys of North American wildernesses, and ridges of highlands dividing rivers that fall into the St. Lawrence from those that fall into the Atlantic Ocean, it is impossible that a foreign sovereign absorbed in the cares of his own Government should have time or be willing to take upon himself the labor of acquainting himself with the merits of the dispute sufficiently to decide with justice, and in a satisfactory manner, either to himself or to the parties.

Mr. Canning proposes making a northern tour this summer.

8th. In the evening Mr. Calhoun was here, and afterwards General Scott, with Mr. Dick, the District Judge of the United States in Louisiana. They came while Mr. Calhoun was with me, and interrupted our conversation. The relations in which I now stand with Calhoun are delicate and difficult. At the last session of Congress he suffered a few members of Congress, with an Irishman named Rogers, editor of a newspaper at Easton, Pennsylvania, at their head, to set him up as a candidate for the succession to the Presidency. From that moment the caballing in Congress, in the State Legislatures, in the newspapers, and among the people, against me, has been multiplied tenfold. The Franklin Gazette, of Philadelphia, under the direction of R. Bache, G. M. Dallas, T. Sergeant, and Ingham,

in concert with Rogers, opened immediately upon me, and has kept up ever since an insidious fire against me. Calhoun's partisans have countenanced it, and have been as busy as those of Mr. Crawford in their efforts to degrade me in the public opinion. Meanwhile, Calhoun has always professed to be a friend and admirer of mine, and to persons whom he knows to be my friends has said that he did not mean to be a candidate against a Northern man, and that he himself was decidedly for a Northern President. There was a time during the last session of Congress when so large a proportion of members was enlisted for Calhoun that they had it in contemplation to hold a caucus formally to declare him a candidate. But this prospect of success roused all Crawford's and Clay's partisans against him. The administration of his Department was scrutinized with severity, sharpened by personal animosity and factious malice. Some abuses were discovered, and exposed with aggravations. Cavils were made against measures of that Department in the execution of the laws, and brought the President in collision with both Houses of Congress. Crawford's newspapers commenced and have kept up a course of the most violent abuse and ribaldry against him, and his projected nomination for the Presidency has met with scarcely any countenance throughout the Union. The principal effect of it has been to bring out Crawford's strength, and thus to promote the interest of the very man whom he professes alone to oppose. Calhoun now feels his weakness, but is not cured of his ambition. My personal intercourse with him now is necessarily an intercourse of civility, and not of confidence.

11th. Five years have this day passed since Dr. Tillary, by way of felicitation upon my birthday, congratulated me upon being between fifty and sixty. I have now turned the half-way corner. They have been five memorable years of my life, and certainly the five most laborious of the whole. They have also been crowned with blessings, for which I am grateful to the Giver of all good. They have had their trials of many kinds, among which the severest was the decease of my ever dear and lamented mother. I am now in the midst of another and far different trial—a trial for my character before my country.

It is but one of many which are preparing for me, and through which I must pass as it shall please Heaven. The caballing against me is so extensive, and so many leading men in every part of the Union are engaged in it, that the prospect before me is not hopeful. This particular plot will in a great measure, though not entirely, fail. Russell will be disappointed, and have the public voice against him; but Clay, for whom Russell has performed the part of the jackal, will so far gain his point that it will form a theme for prejudice in the Western and Southern country against me. I have now the advantage of Russell entirely in my hands. But the management of my cause requires discretion and firmness, both in an eminent degree. My cause is the cause of truth and honesty and of my country. There is hardly a bad passion in the human heart but is arrayed against me. But in controversies of this kind success depends much upon the manner in which it is conducted. I have my own errors to dread more than the power of the adversary. A single false step would ruin me. I need advice very much, and have no one to advise me. I finished yesterday the draft of a rejoinder to Russell's publication in the Boston Statesman of 27th of June. But it replies only to his false statements of the manner in which his letters were brought before the House of Representatives; and is already so long that it will with difficulty be crowded into one newspaper. I have so much more to say upon the subject that it will at least fill another newspaper, and I am apprehensive the public will grow weary of the subject before it can be fully laid open to them. I began this morning the draft of the sequel to my rejoinder.

12th. I was at the President's this morning, and he spoke to me of Mr. Russell's publication in the Boston Statesman of 27th of June, which he said he thought a very feeble thing. He also told me that since this affair had come to be so notorious, he had been recollecting the circumstances of his receiving Russell's letter, which had before passed away from his memory. He now recollected that on receiving it he had been surprised and embarrassed at its contents. He had shown it to Mr. Madison, then President, and consulted with him what he should do

with it. They were both of opinion that it ought not to be put upon the files of the Department and thus exposed to be at some day made public. The publication they thought could only produce mischief. They considered Mr. Russell as a man, at the time of the Treaty of Ghent, very recently introduced into the public service, whose advancement had outstripped his consideration in the public opinion, and who had thought he could best promote his own views by attaching himself to the interests and by gaining the friendship of Mr. Clay. As to the proposal for continuing the right of the British to navigate the Mississippi, neither Mr. Madison nor he (the President) had ever thought there was anything objectionable in it. He had no doubt that the object of bringing forward Russell's letter in Congress was to produce a prejudice in the Western country, looking to future events; but he thought it a very poor expedient, and that it would fail of producing the effect intended by it.

13th. I received dispatches from Mr. Middleton, our Minister in Russia, containing the decision of the Emperor upon the question submitted to him by the Governments of the United States and of Great Britain as to the construction of that part of the first article of the Treaty of Ghent which provides for the evacuation of our territories by the British forces without carrying away any slaves. The decision is in our favor, but is expressed in language needing explanation more than the paragraph of the article which was in question. I took the dispatches to the President's, and proposed to him that the decision should be published in the National Intelligencer; of which he approved.

17th. My rejoinder to Russell was published in the National Intelligencer of this morning. Mr. George Hay called upon me, and told me that he had read it through with attention, and approved altogether its contents. But he intimated that he thought no further publication by me would be necessary; that it was impossible Russell should ever recover or redeem his character, and that it would be wasting time and words to put him down lower than he would be after this publication. I told him that this was my own impression; that I was aware

nothing I could henceforth say would affect Russell's character, and that so far as concerned him I should not wish to add another word. But his doctrines had not been thoroughly exposed. The public had not yet looked with much interest to that part of the discussion, and his sophistications had even found countenance and support in the public journals in various parts of the Union. I should, therefore, undertake a thorough examination and refutation of the doctrines of his letter, which would require two or three papers, each as long as the one this day published; but, as the public soon grow weary of controversies in newspapers, I was not determined as to the mode of publication which I should adopt.

22d. The newspapers from the neighboring cities notice my rejoinder to Russell's publication in the Boston Statesman, generally with approbation. Niles's Register says that one of his neighbors called it *annihilatory;* but, as an enemy cannot be *more* than annihilated, a question occurs whether further publication by me in the newspapers would not be superfluous. Admonitions to that effect come to me from friend and foe.

26th. I have been this day married twenty-five years. It is what the Germans call the "Silberne Hochzeit"—the Silver Wedding. The happiest and most eventful portion of my life is past in the lapse of those twenty-five years. I finished the letter to my wife. Looking back—what numberless occasions of gratitude! how little room for self-gratulation! Looking forward—what dependence upon the overruling Power! what frail support in myself! "Time and the hour wear through the roughest day." Let me have strength but to be true to myself, to my Maker, and to man—adding Christian meekness and charity to Stoic fortitude—and come what may.

28th. About two o'clock Mr. Calhoun called, and took us in his carriage to Mr. Daniel Brent's. The weather was intensely hot, and the sun beaming unclouded, so that we were about two hours on the road. We found there Colonel Freeman and Mr. Pleasanton, Gales and Seaton, Mr. Pearson and his daughter, and Miss Brent, a daughter of William Brent's. We had a pleasant dinner, and a little, not much, conversation. We returned early in the evening to the city. Mr. Calhoun

said much to me, on the way, of the opposition to the Administration combined by Mr. Clay and Mr. Crawford, each having separate views of his own. He spoke also of the absolute necessity that there should be in this District an *independent* newspaper, to expose the intrigues of those gentlemen to the nation. The City Gazette is known to be under the management of Clerks in the Treasury. It has been several months incessantly scurrilous and abusive upon Calhoun, cautiously and equivocally so upon me, and, without avowing its devotion to Crawford, occasionally disclosing it in a manner not to be mistaken. Its editor is an Englishman, having no character of his own—penurious and venal—metal to receive any stamp, and, in his treatment now of Crawford and me, looking like one of the Tower stamped dollars during the late war—with George the Third's head struck over that of Charles the Fourth, and not entirely effacing it. The National Intelligencer is also in subjection both to Clay and Crawford, by the Act of Congress which Clay carried through, under which the printers of Congressional documents for every Congress are chosen by the preceding Congress. Calhoun thinks that this gave the Speaker of the House absolute control over the National Intelligencer newspaper, both as a rod over the heads and a sop for the mouths of its editors; and he has no doubt it was Clay's object in carrying the law. By making them dependent upon Congress, it palsied them at least, as supporters of the Executive. They incline also from other motives towards Crawford, and, although uncertain which will be the strongest side, and therefore wishing to keep themselves neutral as much as possible, they will, while endeavoring to avoid direct commitment of themselves, lean as much as they can in favor both of Crawford and of Clay. An independent newspaper, therefore, is indispensable, said Calhoun; and he asked me what I thought of McKenney's prospectus. I thought an *independent* newspaper would be very necessary to make known the truth to the people, but, I said, I was not acquainted with Mr. McKenney, and knew nothing of his qualifications for editing a paper, nor of his independence. His prospectus was well written, and opened an excellent plan as that which he

should pursue. But he must have a heart of oak, nerves of iron, and a soul of adamant, to carry it through. His first attempt would bring a hornets' nest upon his head, and, if they should not sting him to death or blindness, he would have to pursue his march with them continually swarming over him, and beset on all sides with slander, obloquy, and probably assassination.

Calhoun thought this picture highly colored, but admitted there was reason to foresee a stormy career for McKenney. I doubt much, however, whether Mr. McKenney's paper will be independent. I think it originated in the War Office, and will be Mr. Calhoun's official gazette, as long as it lasts. Whether it will live through a session of Congress is to be seen; but if it fulfils the promise of its prospectus it will pass through more than fire. It is to be an evening paper, twice a week, and the first number is to be published the 7th of next month. Mr. Calhoun evidently considers his future prospects, and even his continuance in the present Administration, as depending upon it.

Day. I have been deeply engaged the whole month in my controversy with Jonathan Russell. I received on the first day of the month his publication in the Boston Statesman of 27th of June, and replied to it in part by a paper in the National Intelligencer of the 17th. I then promised another; but in taking up and discussing thoroughly the topics of his letter of 11th of February, 1815, from Paris, I have found it necessary to write three papers—each of them too long for publication in one newspaper. I have this day finished the first draft of the last of those papers. But the arrangement is yet to be completed, and some additions and some retrenchments are to be made. But in the present stage of the controversy the public sentiment is almost universal against Russell, and very strongly expressed. A volume more in the newspapers would weaken instead of strengthening that impression; it would look like mangling a fallen enemy. I have no such inclination, and have no wish to exult over him. But the doctrines of this letter must be put down. I think of publishing a pamphlet. The writing of these papers has so totally

absorbed all my morning hours that my diary has been running the whole month in arrear.

August 3d. There is in the Argus of Western America, a newspaper published at Frankfort, Kentucky, under date of the 18th of July, an article, apparently editorial, headed "The Ghent Mission," which, both from its style and contents, I take to have been written by Mr. Clay; but, if not, certainly from him indirectly. It is bitter upon "the Secretary," and apologizes for Clay's having agreed to the Mississippi proposition upon the plea of the new instructions. It abandons all Russell's pretences, and says that Clay thought the Government ought not to have given the instructions. Clay's conduct throughout this affair towards me has been that of an envious rival—a fellow-servant whispering tales into the ear of the common master. He has been seven years circulating this poison against me in the West, and I have now no doubt that Russell's letter was brought forth upon suggestions originating with him. Russell has all along performed for him the part of a jackal. Clay seems to have fancied that I should have no means of self-vindication if Russell's letter should be brought before Congress, and this article in the Argus evidently betrays his vexation and disappointment at the result.

4th. There is in the Richmond Enquirer of the 2d instant, which came this day, a Jesuitical and most insidious article upon the diplomatic controversy. It begins by copying from the Charleston (South Carolina) Courier an article upon it, very severe upon Russell, with which it expresses concurrence in part, but cavils at some comment in it upon Floyd, and instigates Floyd to come out against it. Then it pronounces Russell decidedly in fault in the quarrel about the duplicate, and with the same dogmatism pronounces that the proposition made to the British at Ghent seems to defy all justification; extracts all the part of the sham editorial article in the Frankfort Argus which charges the "Secretary," and calls upon me to answer it but omits all that part of the same article which contains Clay's admissions of his having assented and subscribed to the proposition. The main object of the Richmond Enquirer's instigators in this affair is to blow the coals. They want to bring in Floyd

and Clay to fall upon me and help out Russell, for, considering him as already disgraced before the nation, they wish to uphold him just enough to assist him in his notable attempt to disgrace me. At the first explosion of this affair they could not suppress their exultation at the prospect of two distinguished Massachusetts men afoul of each other, and sure both to lose character by the result. But the burst of public sentiment was so quick and so strong against Russell, on the publication of his duplicate letters and my remarks, that in a few days the Richmond Enquirer gave out that I had seized with great ability upon this occasion to make myself a party for the next Presidential election, for which it declared I was before quite out of the question. The Richmond Enquirer is the organ of a great and predominating political party in Virginia. It is the mainspring for Mr. Crawford's election in that State, and indeed throughout the Union. It is the very Mrs. Candor of newspapers, and, under an affectation of impartiality and liberality, has been, and will be, managed with the most inveterate hostility to me. I have concluded to publish the papers of this controversy in a pamphlet, and have prepared a paper to be published in the National Intelligencer announcing this intention.

6th. I sent this morning to Mr. Force, requesting him to call at the office of the Department of State, which he did. I told him I proposed to publish a pamphlet containing the message of the President to the House of Representatives with the residuary Ghent Treaty documents, the message with the duplicate letters and my remarks, Mr. Russell's subsequent publications in the newspapers relating to this subject, and mine, with additional papers amounting perhaps to one hundred pages more. I asked him if he would undertake the publication at his own expense and risk. He said he would, and I gave him a printed copy of the Ghent document message to begin with. He said he would commence the publication in a few days; and I engaged to furnish him from time to time with copy as it should be wanted. Mr. Seaton, of the National Intelligencer, likewise called, and I gave him the paper which I had prepared, announcing my purpose of withdrawing the sub-

ject from the newspapers and of publishing all the documents in a pamphlet.

7th. My paper was published this morning in the National Intelligencer. Mr. George Hay called upon me at my house and expressed his approbation of it, but said there was one passage in it which, upon a first, second, and third reading, he had not been able to understand. It presented at the first reading a sense which it was impossible should be intended. He had finally discerned its meaning, and then had wondered how he could have had any hesitation about it. The passage speaks of Russell's letter as having been "trumpeted beforehand throughout the Union, as fraught with disclosures which were to blast a reputation worthless in the estimation of its possessor, if not unsullied." I saw upon examining this sentence that there was something in it not perfectly clear, and that it would have been better to transpose the word "worthless," and say, "a reputation in the estimation of its possessor worthless if not unsullied." I told Mr. Hay that I had been obliged to publish this paper without having the benefit of previous revisal by a friend, and asked him if he would do me that favor for the next paper of the collection, for the accuracy of which I should feel more solicitude. He said he would. I mentioned to Mr. Hay the disingenuous manner in which the Richmond Enquirer had republished a part, and suppressed a part, of the article in the Frankfort Argus of 18th July. He said I should never experience fairness or candor from the Richmond Enquirer; that paper would not resort to positive falsehood, but they would not give the whole truth.

8th. I received from Mr. C. A. Rodney, the Senator from the State of Delaware, the second volume of Chalmers's Collection of Opinions of Eminent Lawyers, containing the opinions of the attorneys and solicitors-general, at three several periods after intervening wars, that the Treaty of Neutrality of 1686 was yet in force, though not renewed nor specifically mentioned in any of the treaties of peace; also the Advocate-General Sir James Marryat's opinion and argument upon it in 1765. Rodney has taken an interest in this controversy, as he told me, from his regard for the memory of Mr. Bayard, who

was his fellow-citizen of Delaware, brother at the bar, rival statesman, and personal friend. He first mentioned to me the debates in Parliament on the Peace of Amiens, and a few days since I received a letter from him, speaking of these authorities in Chalmers's book, and also of a reference to and inference from them in a volume upon Commercial Law recently published by Chitty. He offered me the loan of the books—which I accepted.

10th. A woman by the name of Bridget Smith came to apply for a pardon for her brother, the man who is in prison at Boston for slave-trading. Miss Smith operated with the usual female weapon, a shower of tears. It seldom fails to disconcert my philosophy, especially when I see the spring is from the social affections. Here it was a brother, necessary for the comfort and subsistence of a mother. I promised to do my best to obtain his release, though in his own person he has very little claim to mercy or even to compassion.

12th. I received this day a dispatch from R. Rush, with a printed copy of the Act of Parliament passed the 24th of June last, opening the ports of the British Colonies in the West Indies, North and South America, and in the island of Newfoundland, to the vessels of the United States. I took them to the President's, and mentioned to him the necessity of issuing a proclamation conformably to the Act of Congress of the last session, which I promised to prepare and bring to him tomorrow.

13th. I made a draft of a proclamation opening the ports of the United States to British vessels from their Colonies, and took it to the President. I found several difficulties in making the draft. The Act of Congress of 6th May last authorizes the President by proclamation to open the ports of the United States, on certain contingencies, to British vessels employed in the trade and intercourse between the United States and the British Colonies or islands in the West Indies, under such reciprocal rules and restrictions as he may prescribe, anything in the two Navigation Acts to the contrary notwithstanding. The British Act of Parliament of 24th June opens certain ports by name in the West Indies, in North and South America, and

in Newfoundland, under certain restrictions of duties, and authorizes only the importation directly of articles the growth, produce, or manufacture of the United States. As the Act of Congress speaks only of the British Islands or Colonies in the *West Indies*, the first question was whether the proclamation can open our ports to British vessels from Newfoundland, North and South America, under the general denomination of the West Indies. If it cannot, it cannot meet the Act of Parliament, and will be of no effect. I therefore made the draft opening our ports to vessels from all the ports opened to our vessels by the Act of Parliament, construing the term West Indies as used in the Act of Congress in its most extensive and general sense.

The next question was as to the *reciprocal* rules and restrictions. It occurred to me that under that provision the proclamation might exact countervailing duties; but, as that might be thought to encroach upon the revenue-raising power, I thought it would be best to leave it to Congress. To countervail the restriction of direct trade, I limited the importations from each Colony in British vessels to the productions of that Colony. I left the draft with the President for his consideration.

14th. I called at the President's, and he returned me the draft of the proclamation opening our ports to British vessels from the Colonial ports opened to ours by the Act of Parliament of 24th June, with a question whether the restriction of importations in the British vessels to be admitted to articles the produce of only the Colony from which they directly come would not be objectionable. He desired me to consider this, but said he would sign the proclamation as I had drawn it if I should conclude it would be best. He desired me also to show it to Mr. Calhoun, the only other head of Department now here, and to take his advice. I took the draft accordingly this evening to Mr. Calhoun's, and read it to him, suggesting the questions which had occurred to me in drawing it up. I left it with him, and also a copy of the British Act of Parliament of 24th June. He will return them to me with his opinion to-morrow morning. I asked him to consider how a restriction upon the

articles to be imported in British vessels, not limited to articles of the particular Colony from which they come, but to articles the produce of the British West India Colonies, for vessels coming from them, and to North American articles, for vessels from the North American Colonies, would answer.

15th. Mr. Calhoun called after breakfast at my house, and returned the draft of the proclamation and the copy of the British Act of Parliament. He thought the restriction last proposed by me would be more expedient than that limited to the productions of the particular Colony from which the vessel comes. As to the question about opening our ports to British vessels from the North American British Provinces under the Act of Congress, which names only the West Indies, he advised me to write to Mr. King, the Senator who, as Chairman of the Senatorial Committee of Foreign Relations, brought in the bill and carried it through that body; and to consult him as to the propriety of extending to the Act that latitude of construction. I wrote accordingly to Mr. King, mentioning the questions to him and enclosing the draft of the proclamation and the copy of the British Act of Parliament. The proclamation must of course be for some days delayed.

16th. I this day received a letter from C. A. Rodney, the Senator from Delaware, with a new English authority against the doctrine that all treaties are abrogated by war. It is the opinion of Mr. Fox, expressed in Parliament in the debate on the definitive Treaty of Peace of 1783. And I this day finished the draft of remarks which I propose to publish in my collection of documents upon the editorial article in the Argus of Western America, which I suppose to have been written by Mr. Clay. Force has begun the printing of the work, and sends me usually one proof-sheet of eight pages for revisal each week-day. This, and the necessary writing for the publication, absorbs all my leisure time and all my faculties.

19th. Answered General Dearborn's letter, and received one from my wife, chiefly upon an attack against me in one of the Philadelphia newspapers on account of the negligence of my dress. It says that I wear neither waistcoat nor cravat, and sometimes go to church barefoot. My wife is much concerned

at this, and several of my friends at Philadelphia have spoken to her of it as a serious affair. In the Washington City Gazette, some person unknown to me has taken the cudgels in my behalf, and answered the accusation gravely as if the charge were true. It is true only as regards the cravat, instead of which, in the extremity of the summer heat, I wear round my neck a black silk riband. But, even in the falsehoods of this charge, what I may profitably remember is the perpetual and malignant watchfulness with which I am observed in my open day and my secret night, with the deliberate purpose of exposing me to public obloquy or public ridicule. There is nothing so deep and nothing so shallow which political enmity will not turn to account. Let it be a warning to me to take heed to my ways.

23d. Mr. Henry Johnson, the Senator from Louisiana, called upon me this morning, with Mr. Edward Livingston, of New Orleans. Livingston is elected a member of the next Congress from the State of Louisiana, and will probably be one of its most distinguished members. He is a man of very superior talents, whose career has been checkered with good and evil, with right and wrong, perhaps as much as that of any public man in this country. He is now going to Richmond, Virginia. He asked me whether I had received a copy of his report to the Legislature of Louisiana of a project for a criminal code, which he had sent me. I had, and was much pleased with it. I told him there were many of its opinions with which I fully concurred, and some upon which my mind was perhaps not so clearly made up.

Mr. Calhoun called, and I showed him the answer I had just received from Mr. R. King, returning my draft of a proclamation opening our ports to British vessels from their American Colonial ports. Mr. King approves of the liberal construction we have given to the term West Indies in the Act of Congress of the last session; and he thinks the more enlarged restriction of the articles importable in British vessels, of West Indian articles from the West Indies, and North American articles from North America, preferable to the narrower limitation of articles the produce only of the particular Colony from which

the vessel may come. I altered the draft of the proclamation accordingly, to be published in the National Intelligencer to-morrow morning.

26th. The Washington City Gazette has this day come out for the first time with the Treasury stamp unequivocal upon its face. It has long been at market, apparently between Mr. Crawford and me; really, sold to him years ago, but wishing also to make its price with me. Wyer told me not long since that Elliot, the editor, had asked him if I was *his* friend; complained that I had given him no jobs of printing lately to do; said that my objections to his account for printing papers relating to the census had been only a misunderstanding; hinted that he could not afford to be my friend for nothing; boasted that he had entirely put down Mr. Calhoun's pretensions to the Presidency, and considered himself as thereby serving me; with a distinct intimation that he could serve me as he had served Mr. Calhoun. I told Wyer that I had been obliged to cut down Elliot's account for the census papers for its extortion, and had then told him that I should give him no more work at the public charge; that he had not put down Mr. Calhoun, and if he had, it was not for the purpose of serving me; and that I should not purchase the services of any printer, either with public money or my own.

This was but a few days since; and this day the Gazette shows its flag. It enumerates also the other newspapers which it considers as pledged to the same cause; which is obviously to give them a signal of mutual intelligence. The organization of newspaper support for Mr. Crawford throughout the Union is very extensive, and is managed with much address. Democracy, Economy, and Reform are the watch-words for his recruiting service—Democracy to be used against me, Economy against Calhoun, and Reform against both. Calhoun is organizing a counter-system of newspaper artillery, and his Washington Republican is already working powerfully in his favor. These engines will counteract each other, but I shall be a mark for both sides, and, having no counter-fire upon them, what can happen but that I must fall? This fall may be the happiest event that could befall me, and I but fervently ask that my

mind may be disciplined to whatever may betide me, and supported to the level of higher aims than any political fortune can reach.

27th. Mr. Calhoun called to make enquiries. He noticed the decisive manner in which the Washington City Gazette came out yesterday in favor of Mr. Crawford, and against me. He has long considered the Gazette as edited from the Treasury Department, and all the articles in it against him as coming almost directly from Mr. Crawford himself. He says the course Crawford is now pursuing is precisely the same as he kept in 1815 and 1816, which he had great opportunities of then observing, as he was of the same mess with two or three of Crawford's managing partisans. He says that Crawford is a very singular instance of a man of such character rising to the eminence he now occupies; that there has not been in the history of the Union another man with abilities so ordinary, with services so slender, and so thoroughly corrupt, who has contrived to make himself a candidate for the Presidency. He thinks it, however, impossible that he should succeed.

Mr. George Graham was at the theatre; he has just returned from a long visit to Kentucky, and says that the people there have got into excessive ill humor with the General Government, and a universal passion for Mr. Clay to be the next President; though they are at the same time in a flame of internal combustion, with stop laws, paper money, and hunting down Judges, in which Clay is on the unpopular side, which at this time is the side of justice. At the late election, a decided majority of the State Legislature has been chosen for removing the Judges who pronounced the relief laws unconstitutional; and in the elections for Congress the candidates opposed to the Administration were everywhere elected. Clay himself is one of them.

29th. The Richmond Enquirer of the 27th, which came this day, contains a letter from John Floyd, the member of the House of Representatives who moved last session for the Ghent documents and for Russell's letters to the editors of that paper, who had instigated it by a stimulant hint in their paper of the 2d. Floyd is a man having in the main honest intentions, but with an intellect somewhat obfuscated, violent

passions, suspecting dishonesty and corruption in all but himself, rashly charging it upon others; eager for distinction, and forming gigantic projects upon crude and half-digested information. He has a plan for establishing a Territorial Government at the mouth of Columbia River, and, being leagued with Clay and Benton of Missouri, made his bill for that purpose the pretext for moving the call for the Ghent papers, and then for Russell's letter. Clay, who is at the bottom of it all, has, from the day after the signature of the Treaty of Ghent, been working like a mole to undermine me in the West, by representing me as an enemy to the Western interests, and by misrepresenting the transactions at Ghent in a way to suit that purpose. Russell's letter of 11th February, 1815, was concerted with Clay, who must have supposed that I should be precluded by my situation from making any defence, and that the poison would operate without the counteraction of any antidote. The mismanagement of Russell blew up their whole plot, and, Floyd's part in it being partly detected, he himself has been handled as he deserved in many of the newspaper commentaries upon the whole transaction. The Richmond Enquirer, intent upon bringing out all possible opposition to me, and knowing the coarseness and insolence of Floyd's hostility, put forth a provocative to Floyd to come out, and he has come out accordingly; at once crafty and ferocious; pretending self-defence, as if I had injured him—falsely charging me with having asserted that *he* had made himself subservient to Russell's purposes, and then imputing direct falsehood to that assertion—pretending to take no part in the dispute between Russell and me, that he may discharge his venom upon me with more effect, under the color of neutrality. The Washington City Gazette, in its allegiance to the Treasury, now copies every article against me, from all quarters of the Union, usually with the addition of a comment turning it against me and using it as a lift for Russell.

30th. Floyd's letter was published this morning in the National Intelligencer. I wrote a very short answer to it for publication in the same paper to-morrow morning. Among the absurdities with which Floyd's letter abounds is his at-

tacking me in the newspapers with a charge that I am seeking newspaper controversy. I have confined my answer to a direct denial of having made the assertion which he imputes to me and declares false, and have fixed the falsehood unanswerably upon himself. The City Gazette of this afternoon has another insulting paragraph of high panegyric upon Floyd's character, purity of motives, and veracity, and asserting that his letter puts the dispute between Russell and me upon an entire new footing. This is followed by a paragraph hoping that I have not employed Seth Hunt (as my enemies insinuate) to plot the destruction of Mr. Russell's character for a reward in case of success. This alludes to a charge published in the New York Statesman, under the signature of "Ariel," charging Russell with having speculated for pecuniary profit upon information which he gave to commercial houses at the negotiation of Ghent. Russell having called upon the publishers for the name of the author of "Ariel," Hunt wrote to him and avowed himself as the author, upon which Russell prosecuted him, both by action and by indictment, and prosecuted also the publishers of the Statesman. Of all these transactions I have no knowledge but by the newspapers. There are other paragraphs in this day's Gazette equally insidious and base, interspersed with encomiums and defences of Crawford, written, as I have reason to suppose, by a man named Richards, of spotted character, whom Crawford, knowing him as such, has this summer taken as a clerk into the Treasury Department. I note these things as they pass, to indicate for memory hereafter the situation in which I am placed, the means used to ruin my character, the agents by whom the machinery is wielded, and the persons for whom this dirty work is performed. The thing itself is not new. From the nature of our institutions, the competitors for public favor, and their respective partisans, seek success by slander upon each other, as you add to the weight of one scale by taking from that of the other. I disdain this ignoble mode of warfare, and neither wage it myself nor countenance it in my friends. But from present appearances it will decide the succession to the Presidency.

31st. My answer to Floyd's charge was published in the

National Intelligencer this morning, and copied into the evening papers—in the City Gazette with an affected and mawkish paragraph of commentary, and with other malignant paragraphs against me.

September 3d. Received dispatches from Mr. Middleton at St. Petersburg, and from Mr. Forsyth at Madrid. Mr. Middleton gives the substance of a Convention which he has concluded with Sir Charles Bagot, under the mediation of the Emperor Alexander, for carrying into execution his decision upon the construction of the first article of the Treaty of Ghent, relating to slaves. Mr. Forsyth's letters relate chiefly to the troubles in Spain.

7th. I received some days since a letter from A. Gallatin, mentioning that he had seen Russell's duplicate, and my remarks, and asking me to send him some other papers relating to the subject, and certain books. He says he has not determined whether he will write upon it (for the public), and that if he does it will be with extreme reluctance. I answered his letter this day, and assured him that there would be no necessity whatever for him to publish anything upon this affair. There can be no better proof of the purpose for which the whole machine was set in motion than that, since the facts have been brought out, not one syllable has been said in any one newspaper against Gallatin for his part in the Mississippi navigation and fishery proposal, though it was first offered and repeated by him, and was neither a favorite of mine nor the expedient ultimately successful in securing the interest for which it was advanced. There are newspapers which still harp upon it, but always as my measure, and with the view to cast obloquy upon me. In the face of the evidence they impute it to me, pretend that Bayard finally declared against it, and keep Gallatin wholly out of sight. The whole procedure is a memorable example of artifice by one public man to ruin the reputation of another.

9th. Mr. McKenney came, the editor of the Washington Republican, who wished to borrow a file of the New York National Advocate from the month of May till this time. He afterwards wrote me a note repeating the request and asking

also the loan of a report made by Mr. Crawford in January, 1817. I had not the latter, but sent him a file of the Advocate. The establishment and progress of this newspaper forms an epocha in the history of Mr. Monroe's Administration. Mr. Crawford's party was organized before the close of Mr. Madison's. He was a caucus candidate in 1816 against Mr. Monroe, and had then the address ostensibly to decline opposing Mr. Monroe, seeming to sacrifice his own pretensions in his favor, so as to secure a seat in the Administration under him, during which he has been incessantly engaged in preparing the way to succeed him. Among the most powerful of his agents have been the editors of the leading newspapers. The National Intelligencer is secured to him by the belief of the editors that he will be the successful candidate, and by their dependence upon the printing of Congress; the Richmond Enquirer, because he is a Virginian and a slave-holder; the National Advocate of New York, through Van Buren; the Boston Statesman and Portland Argus, through William King; the Democratic Press, of Philadelphia, because I transferred the printing of the laws from that paper to the Franklin Gazette; and several other presses in various parts of the Union upon principles alike selfish and sordid. Most of these papers have signals by which they understand one another, and the signal at Washington is given by the City Gazette, which has been re-secured since Irvine ceased to be its joint editor, and which from time to time gives notice of the newspapers which are successively induced to join in the train. All this has been going on successfully for some months past, with little counteraction of any kind till the establishment of the Washington Republican. That paper began by a succession of seven numbers addressed to the people of the United States, in which the course of Mr. Crawford's management is very distinctly laid open, and its character vigorously exposed. It has already manifestly disordered the composure of Mr. Crawford's editorial phalanx. The Intelligencer has ventured a slight skirmish in his favor. The Advocate, the Boston Statesman, and the Richmond Enquirer have attacked McKenney with personalities and menaces. The City Gazette

has said nothing of him till this day. On Saturday, Elliot acknowledged the receipt of an anonymous communication, styled "Instructions to Office Hunters," and refused to print it without having the name of the author. This day it appeared under the title of "Extracts from Instructions to Political Beginners," headed by the words, Help! Help! Help! and then reprinting as "From the Washington Republican of the 7th inst., edited by Calhoun and McKenney," a notice in that paper calling for payment of subscriptions. The instructions profess to be after the manner of Dean Swift, but they are imitations only of his vulgarity and venom, without any of his wit. They are infamously scurrilous and abusive, not only upon Mr. Calhoun, but upon his mother-in-law. This is Mr. Crawford's mode of defensive warfare.

11th. I am yet proceeding with the proof-sheets of my pamphlet, the printing of which is nearly completed. In the National Intelligencer yesterday was republished from the Boston Patriot of the 4th a letter from Mr. Fuller, contradicting the assertion of Floyd, that I had procured him to renew the call of the House of Representatives for Russell's letter, from which Floyd had desisted. These papers I shall include in my publication. The Washington Republican this day replies to the National Intelligencer's defence of Mr. Crawford by a long article presenting a comparative view of the reductions of expenditure in the War, Navy, and Treasury Departments, showing that of them all the Treasury has the least pretension to boast of its economy. It has also an article in reply to a very foolish one of the National Advocate, which denied the existence of any opposition to Mr. Monroe's Administration, declared that he had faithfully and zealously discharged his duties as President of the United States, but that he had a private account to settle with the Democratic party, which must now go on by the election of a suitable President for his successor. The shamelessness with which this principle is advanced, that the President, by faithfully performing his duty as Chief Magistrate of the nation, has violated his allegiance to the party which brought him into power, and that therefore a successor to him must be chosen who will violate his duty to the whole

nation by exclusively favoring his own party, is characteristic of the electioneering in favor of Mr. Crawford.

12th. Edward Wyer came, and renewed with great earnestness the promise he had made me on the 2d of this month, to see me again on or before the 15th. He told me this day that a person not friendly to me had told him that he had examined with the strictest scrutiny my accounts at the Treasury, with the expectation of finding in them something against me; but he had been disappointed. They were perfectly correct, and he was very sorry for it. I asked him who it was; but he declined telling me. I have long believed that this was one of the machines to be used against me for electioneering purposes, and that Mr. Crawford has had it among the ways and means of his Presidential canvass. The person who made this confession to Wyer I have no doubt was one of Crawford's subalterns, probably a Treasury Clerk, and Wyer, after telling it to me, to show how much secret information he could give, was afraid to tell me the name of the person, lest he should make enemies to himself. This is one of many incidents showing the system of *espionage* which Crawford keeps on foot over his colleagues, and the means which he is willing to use to depress them. My accounts were kept five years unsettled upon a cavil without foundation in law or justice. I was all but entrapped last winter into a report to Congress, which would have given a handle against me, which was prepared at the Treasury, and of which it was with the utmost difficulty that I obtained the rectification; and now I have it in proof that there is a person having access to all the Treasury documents, mousing for errors in my accounts upon which to raise a popular clamor against me.

14th. The newspaper war between the presses of Mr. Crawford and Mr. Calhoun waxes warm. This day the City Gazette has three columns of brevier type of the foulest abuse upon McKenney, and upon Mr. Calhoun personally—first in a long editorial article, and then in copious extracts from the National Advocate and Boston Statesman. The exposure already made, and the development further threatened by the Washington Republican, of Crawford's practices and those of his partisans, has

thrown them into a paroxysm of rage, and their only attempt to meet these charges hitherto has been by personal invective and menace. The Republican replies this evening with firmness and moderation to the National Advocate and Boston Statesman, and reviews its own progress hitherto. If this press is not soon put down, Mr. Crawford has an ordeal to pass through before he reaches the Presidency which will test his merit and pretensions as well as the character of the nation. As yet, not much notice is taken of the Washington Republican and its disclosures, excepting by the fury of Crawford's presses. His party is so strong, and they have such a ruffian-like manner of bearing down opposition, that impartial and disinterested persons are intimidated; browbeating is among the choicest expedients of his partisans. The progress of this conflict will be a very curious subject of observation, and its result important to the history of the Union.

17th. I received a note from the President, calling a meeting of the members of the Administration at one o'clock this day, with letters from Lieutenant Gregory, commander of the United States schooner Grampus, to the Secretary of the Navy, containing an account of the capture by him of the Spanish privateer Panchita, or Palmyra, from Porto Rico. I attended at the President's accordingly. Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Wirt were also there, being the only other members of the Administration in the city. The letters of Lieutenant Gregory had been read by us all, and the President proposed the question whether any measure of the Administration would be necessary in consequence of this capture. Mr. Calhoun said he thought that from Lieutenant Gregory's letter the justification for the capture of the Spanish privateer was rather slender; but I observed that according to my recollection of the laws it had been strictly legal. I then recurred to the Act of Congress of 3d March, 1819, to protect the commerce of the United States and punish the crime of piracy, continued by the Act of 15th May, 1820. I read the second and third sections of the Act. The capture was made under instructions given by virtue of the second section. It authorizes the President to issue instructions to our naval officers to capture and send in *any* armed

vessel which shall have attempted or committed any *piratical* aggression upon any vessel of the United States or any other vessel. Mr. Calhoun enquired whether any aggression by a vessel bearing a lawful commission could be denominated piratical. I thought there was no doubt it could, and the third section of the Act under consideration, which authorizes merchant vessels to defend themselves against aggressions of any vessel other than public armed vessels, taken in connection with the second, which makes no such distinction, shows that the Act itself considers piratical aggressions as liable to be committed by public armed vessels as well as others. Mr. Calhoun understood them in the same manner. The President sent to the Navy Department for a copy of the instructions given under the Act of 3d March, 1819, and when they were produced it was found that, although they fell rather short of the authority given by the Act, they yet fully justified the capture of the Panchita by Lieutenant Gregory. I mentioned the discussions at the Cabinet meeting when these instructions were to be prepared, which were recollected both by the President and Mr. Calhoun. (See Diary for 16th and 18th March, 1819.)[1] I gave Mr. Wirt the letter from Mr. Pedersen, the Danish Minister, claiming the delivery of the fugitive slave from St. Croix, requesting his written opinion upon two points —first, whether the President has Constitutional authority to deliver up the slave; and, secondly, if he has, in what manner it can be legally carried into effect.

21st. The President went to his seat at Oakhill, near Aldie, Loudoun County, Virginia. Mr. Force came and took the last sheet of my proposed pamphlet, with the title-page, table of contents, and errata, all of which I have prepared, and which have occupied so fully since the 1st of July all the time that I could spare from the indispensable duties of my office, that my diary has in the interval been running into long arrears. Between the 26th and 29th of August, having finished the controversy with Russell, I resumed my diary, and brought it up to the 6th of July; but when Mr. Floyd took the field under a new mask, with a desperate lunge at me, under color of neutrality

[1] Vol. iv. pp. 298–303.

I thought it necessary to strip the mask from him too. The editorial article of the Kentucky Argus is by or from Clay, and, as he fights under cover, I have adapted the defence to the attack. Force says the book will be published on Monday. I now dismiss it to its fate.[1] The Washington Republican and City Gazette—War and Treasury Departments—are yet in deadly conflict, but with such unequal force, all reason, argument, and demonstration on one side, and all scurrility and billingsgate on the other, that the National Intelligencer has been compelled to step in to the relief of the Treasury—the editors, by some shuffling and equivocating paragraphs, professing the intention not to meddle with the controversy; and now by a formal communication, signed "A Near Observer," almost avowedly from the Treasury, and supposed to be written by Asbury Dickens, a favorite Clerk in that Department. This is the only attempt hitherto at answering argumentatively the Washington Republican. But Noah, the editor of the New York National Advocate, has discovered that some of McKenney's printed proposals for publishing his paper were transmitted, franked by the Paymaster and Adjutant-General, and charges this as a violation of the franking privilege and a fraud upon the post-office. McKenney this day admits that some of his proposals were thus transmitted, with a sort of farewell letter, to persons with whom he had corresponded as Indian Agent, privileged to frank; but says that as soon as this was made known to Mr. Calhoun he disapproved it, and directed its discontinuance. The City Gazette makes a great outcry about this incident, which is of more importance as it shows the intimacy between the War Office and the Washington Republican, than in any other light.

23d. Mr. George Hay called, and mentioned certain recent publications respecting the notorious Newburgh letters, circulated in March, 1783, instigating the army to mutiny. The

[1] This makes a volume of two hundred and fifty-six pages, 8vo, bearing the following title: The Duplicate Letters, the Fisheries, and the Mississippi. Documents relating to Transactions at the Negotiation of Ghent: collected and published by John Quincy Adams, one of the Commissioners of the United States at that Negotiation. 1822.

author of them has always been supposed to be John Armstrong, a man variously distinguished in our later history, who has never explicitly avowed or disowned them publicly, but who, as William Lee told me, printed them while at Paris in a pamphlet, and distributed them among his acquaintances as his own. He then gave one of them to Lee himself. Judge William Johnson, in his recently published sketches of the Life of General Greene, calls in question Armstrong's authorship of these letters, as far beyond his ability, and attributes them to Gouverneur Morris. Since then, and within these few days, a paragraph has been current in the newspapers, seemingly, though not avowedly, from Armstrong himself, introducing a letter purporting to have been written by President Washington in 1793 to Armstrong. Mr. Hay asked me if I had seen it this morning in the Alexandria Herald. I had not seen that paper, but had seen it lately in other newspapers. Mr. Hay asked if I had ever heard of that letter before. I had heard there was such a letter, but have no distinct recollection when or where. The letter purports to have been written 23d February, 1793, and is now stated, on belief, as having been first published in 1803. It is a declaratory certificate, that, in writing his address to the army on the occasion of the Newburgh letters, General Washington did not regard Mr. Armstrong as the author of those letters, and, further, that he had since had reason for believing that the object of the author was just, honorable, and friendly to the country, although the means suggested by him were certainly liable to misunderstanding and abuse. And the reason alleged for giving this certificate is, the belief that there might be times and occasions when the writer's opinion of the anonymous letters as delivered to the army in 1783 might be turned to some personal and malignant purpose. Hay said he believed that this letter was a forgery. It was impossible that General Washington should ever have written such a letter, or ever have certified that he had reason to believe that the object of the incendiary of Newburgh was just, honorable, and friendly to the country.[1] I told Hay I was afraid that he had; as it

[1] This letter, bearing the date of 23d February, 1797, has been inserted in the Appendix to the twelfth volume of Sparks's Collection of the Writings of Wash-

was unquestionable that Mr. Jefferson had nominated the incendiary to foreign missions of the highest trust. As a member of the Senate, I had voted against that nomination, alleging distinctly as my reason that Mr. Armstrong was known to be the author of the Newburgh letters. Others voted against him for other reasons—no one alleged that; and the nomination was confirmed by the casting vote of the Vice-President. I told Hay that I still believed Armstrong to be the author of the Newburgh letters; that I believed it impossible that their object should have been just, honorable, or friendly to the country; that I believed Armstrong to be one of the ablest writers and most unprincipled public men that this country had ever produced; and that General Washington, Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Madison, George Clinton, the Senate of the United States, and the Legislature of New York, all of whom had at various times and in divers manners concurred in appointing him to great public trusts, had indulgently overlooked the depravity of the Newburgh letters, or attributed them to a youthful excess of an ambitious spirit afterwards chastised by experience into honor and honesty. I had myself been willing for some time to cherish such hopes, but Mr. Armstrong's public life has been but too clearly marked with the stamp of the Newburgh letters; and I thought Judge Johnson's suggestion, that they were written by Gouverneur Morris, very feebly supported by his evidence. Hay said he thought so too. But he could not believe General Washington had ever written this letter, and he mentioned reasons for disbelieving it: that no mention of it was made in Marshall's life of him; that his signature as printed in the newspaper was not like that habitually used by the General; and that it was impossible he should have entertained the sentiment expressed in it. Mr. Hay has, I think, particular motives for these enquiries.

I received dispatches from Mr. Rush, at London, and from Mr. Forsyth, at Madrid. Mr. Rush sends a copy of the Convention lately concluded by Mr. Middleton at St. Petersburg.

ington, article "Newburgh Addresses." The argument for its genuineness seems much fortified by the tone of two earlier ones in 1791 and 1792, in the tenth volume of the same collection.

Mr. Forsyth gives an account of the convulsive political state of Spain. Mr. Calhoun called at the office, and I gave him Rush's dispatch to take home with him.

24th. Mr. Calhoun brought me back Mr. Rush's dispatch, and said there had been a good deal of *parade* in the transactions of this business at St. Petersburg—an observation which disclosed a feeling not exactly suited to the occasion. The Convention proposes that eventually an *average* value should be paid for the slaves carried away. Mr. Calhoun said, if that meant one average value for each slave upon the whole number, it would not be satisfactory nor just. The price of slaves increasing from North to South, the sufferers in Maryland and Virginia would be overpaid, while those in Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana would not be indemnified.

I said I did not suppose it would be necessary to strike one and the same average for the whole, but a separate one perhaps for each State where the losses had been sustained.

25th. The War Office and Treasury war continues to rage. There is a long reply to the "Near Observer" in the Washington Republican of this evening, and the City Gazette is filled with columns of abuse upon Mr. Calhoun and McKenney, and with republished scraps against me; for it republishes from every newspaper in the Union everything that appears in the shape of an attack upon me.

26th. The President sent me a letter from P. S. Duponceau, of Philadelphia, to General John Mason, of Georgetown, informing him of a certain Mr. Sanchez, from the Havanna, recommended to Duponceau by a French officer, who served in the late war, at New Orleans, now at the Havanna. Sanchez comes as a secret Agent from a number of the principal inhabitants of the place, who have formed the plan of declaring the island independent of Spain and are desirous of being admitted as a State into the American Union. The object of the mission of Mr. Sanchez is, to enquire if the Government of the United States will concur with them in that object. The plan is represented as already so far matured that they want nothing but the assurance of being seconded from this country to act immediately. The President desired that Duponceau's

letter might be passed to Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Wirt, and directed a meeting at his house to-morrow.

27th. Received a note from the President, calling the meeting of the Administration at one o'clock. At the office I found a dispatch from R. Rush, with the information that on the 12th of August the Marquis of Londonderry, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, committed suicide by cutting his throat with a small penknife—"with a bare bodkin." His mind was like the cable that drew up the frigate at the navy-yard upon the inclined plane—stretched till it snapped.

Attended at the President's at one o'clock. Mr. Calhoun only was there, Mr. Wirt being unwell and not able to attend. The proposition of Mr. Sanchez, as disclosed in Mr. Duponceau's letter to General Mason, was discussed. There was also a second letter, explanatory of the first, and more strictly confidential. The question was discussed what was to be done. Mr. Calhoun has a most ardent desire that the island of Cuba should become a part of the United States, and says that Mr. Jefferson has the same. There are two dangers to be averted by that event: one, that the island should fall into the hands of Great Britain; the other, that it should be revolutionized by the negroes. Calhoun says Mr. Jefferson told him two years ago that we ought, at the first possible opportunity, to take Cuba, though at the cost of a war with England; but as we are not now prepared for this, and as our great object must be to gain time, he thought we should answer this overture by dissuading them from their present purpose, and urging them to adhere at present to their connection with Spain.

I thought it advisable to take a different course; to give them no advice whatever; to say that the Executive of the United States is not competent to promise them admission as a State into the Union; and that if it were, the proposal is of a nature which our relations of amity with Spain would not permit us to countenance.

Mr. Calhoun suggested that it would be proper for the President to make it a subject of a confidential communication to Congress at their next session, and he objected that if much stress should be laid upon our relations with Spain, as forbid-

ding our acceptance of the proposal, it might be considered as indirect instigation to the declaration of independence, inasmuch as that would release us from the obligation of considering it as involving any of the rights of Spain.

I replied that there would be no possibility of proceeding in the business by confidential communication to Congress: first, because there has not been one message with closed doors during the present Administration, nor, I believe, since the peace—the very notice of a secret session would raise an insatiate curiosity throughout the nation to know what could be its object; and, secondly, the proposal was of a nature which would not admit of secrecy. The power of Congress itself to act upon it was questionable. It involved external war and internal revolution in its essential and inevitable consequences. It would neither be possible nor proper that such business should be transacted by secret sessions of Congress. The whole affair would be divulged in a week—perhaps in a day. All Europe, as well as America, would have notice of it, and the very communication of the proposal to Congress as a subject for their deliberations, by the President, might be taken by Spain as hostility to her, and give warning to Great Britain to take an immediate and determined stand against it. As to taking Cuba at the cost of a war with Great Britain, it would be well to enquire, before undertaking such a war, how it would be likely to terminate; and for the present, and for a long time to come, I held it for certain that a war with Great Britain for Cuba would result in her possession of that island, and not ours. In the present relative situation of our maritime forces, we could not maintain a war against Great Britain for Cuba. Nor did I think that a plain, distinct answer, that our relations with Spain forbid our encouragement of a proposal to annex one of her Colonies to our own Union, could be construed into an instigation to revolt. It was a reference to a plain principle of moral duty, expressly applicable to the case, suitable to be acted upon as a motive, and honorable to the good faith of the nation. I would give them at the same time to understand that the Government of the United States entertain the most friendly sentiments towards the inhabitants of

Cuba, and are fully aware of the common interests which point to a most intimate connection between them and the United States. But to advise them to cling to their connection with Spain would expose them to be transferred to Great Britain by Spain, of which there is double danger: first, by the present revolutionary government of Spain, to purchase support against the Holy Alliance; and, secondly, by Ferdinand, to purchase the aid of Great Britain to consummate a counter-revolution in his favor. Now, by advising the people of Cuba to adhere to Spain we expose them to both these dangers; and if the transfer should be made, they would charge the result upon us, and a heavy responsibility for the consequence would bear upon us for such ill-judged interposition.

Mr. Calhoun said he inclined to think there would be no immediate danger of a transfer of the island to Great Britain.

The President directed an adjourned meeting for to-morrow.

30th. I attended the Cabinet meeting at the President's. Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Wirt were there. The letters from Duponceau to General Mason, and the proposals of Mr. Sanchez, were again discussed. The proposition is, that the people of Cuba should immediately declare themselves independent of Spain without any co-operation of the United States, and then ask admission to the Confederation as one of the States of the Union. By his first letter, Duponceau had understood the offer to be that they should come in as Louisiana had been received—to be governed first as a Territory, and afterwards admitted as one or more States. The second letter rectifies this error. They ask admission at once; as one State, with full interior sovereignty of its own. I doubted the authority not only of the Executive, but of Congress, to perform this. Mr. Calhoun thought the case of Louisiana had settled the Constitutional question. But a transaction which should make an island separated from this continent by the ocean at once a member of the Union, with a representation in both Houses of Congress, would certainly be an act of more transcendent power than a mere purchase of territory contiguous to our own. I observed, also, that we had not sufficient foundation for presenting the proposal to Congress in any shape. We had nothing

but Mr. Sanchez's word that he had authority from any one. We knew not from whom his authority came, nor how it had been given him. We knew not how far the project had been matured, nor what were its prospects of success. More information upon all this would be necessary before we could take a step of any kind in an affair of deeper importance and greater magnitude than had occurred since the establishment of our Independence.

It was concluded that the answer to Mr. Sanchez must be negative as to giving any encouragement to the revolutionary movement; but Mr. Calhoun thought we should dissuade them from it. I observed that whatever answer we should give must be one which we must be prepared to see divulged. We must not expect it will be kept secret; whatever General Mason writes to Duponceau he will make known to Sanchez, and Sanchez to his constituents, whoever they may be. It is said that the project has been long in agitation, and is even much discussed publicly at the Havanna. The control of the secret will not be in our power, and even if it should be faithfully kept, we must answer as if it would not. There was a proposal that General Mason should separately answer one of Duponceau's letters—one for communication to Sanchez as our answer, and the other as suggestions to be made to him through Duponceau as from General Mason himself. I thought this would make no difference; so far as secrecy was the object, whatever should go from the Government would be known to go from the Government, however enveloped in forms. Mr. Wirt made a short draft of what he thought might be given to General Mason for an answer to Duponceau, and which, after some discussion, the President said he would keep, and prepare a draft from it to be considered to-morrow.

October 1st. Received a note from the President, desiring the members of the Administration to meet at his house at eleven o'clock. Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Wirt were there. The President had prepared answers for General Mason to return to both Mr. Duponceau's letters. The substance of them was, that he was sure the Government as well as the people

of the United States entertained the most friendly sentiments towards the people of Cuba, and felt the most lively interest in their welfare; but that their relations with Spain did not admit of their forming any engagements, in the present state of things, such as were implied in the proposals of Mr. Sanchez; and that the Executive Government would not in any event be competent to form them without the concurrence of Congress.

The more secret letter suggested, as General Mason's own idea, that it would be well for Mr. Sanchez to give information more explicit and precise of the authority by which he acted; whence it came, who were the persons concerned in the project, how far it was matured, and what means and resources they had for accomplishing their purpose.

I suggested the expediency that General Mason should furnish copies both of Mr. Duponceau's letters and of the answers; to which the President said he would attend.

Mr. Wirt gave a written opinion in the case of the Danish slave, which was, that the President had power to deliver him up. I asked him where he found the grant of the power in the Constitution. He said it was in the general instruction to take care that the laws should be faithfully executed. I said that in his opinion that the President could *not* deliver up a pirate he did not admit that doctrine; where did he find it now? He said, laughing, that he took it from me. But his opinion as to the mode in which the delivery is to be effected was altogether nugatory. It presumes that the President might order the Marshal to take the man and deliver him over to the Danish Minister without ceremony; but he recommends that the Governor of New York should be written to, and invited to deliver up the man.

I said that I should ask to be excused from writing either the order to the Marshal or the letter to the Governor of New York; for I was convinced that in the first case, if the Marshal should obey the order, the man would be taken out of his custody by habeas corpus, and very probably he himself be prosecuted in a State Court for false imprisonment, by the Manumission Society; and in the second, we should have an answer

from the Governor of New York, not only refusing to deliver up the man, but subjoining a commentary upon the demand, which would be anything other than palatable.

Mr. Wirt said that this subject was quite as much political as legal; and he wished the President would take other opinions as well as his. The truth is, that between his Virginian aversion to constructive powers, his Virginian devotion to State rights, and his Virginian *autocracy* against slaves, his two opinions form the most absurd jumble of self-contradictions that could be imagined. If the President has not power to deliver up a pirate, he cannot possibly have power to deliver up a slave. Mr. Calhoun agreed entirely with Mr. Wirt as to the power of the President in the case of fugitive slaves, but felt more the difficulty of carrying it into execution. Calhoun has no petty scruples about constructive powers and State rights.[1] His opinions are at least consistent. I have no doubt that by the Constitution the President has the power; but perhaps a law of Congress may be necessary, providing the process by which the power should be exercised. Despotism itself would be startled at Wirt's opinion, that the Marshal, under a bare order from the President, through the Secretary of State, should have power to seize a man without judge or jury, pack him on board ship and send him out of the country like a bag of cotton. An invitation to the Governor of New York to do the same thing is not less absurd.

The President said he would take time to reflect upon the subject before coming to his determination. He left the city for his seat in Albemarle County immediately after the meeting.

5th. Mr. G. W. Erving called on his return from visiting Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison in Virginia. He is going shortly to Philadelphia. He gave me his opinion of the late Lord Londonderry, of the Baron de Neuville, and the Chevalier de Onis, not altogether concurring with mine. I think better of the two former than he does. It is not easy to estimate accurately the moral character of public men. Their reputation is always made up of a composition by friends and foes; all discolored by favor and by hatred. There is a dis-

[1] This remark appears singular in the view of Mr. Calhoun's later history.

position to believe rather the ill than the good that is said of them; virtue is never presumed, and seldom credited, by or in political adversaries.

Mr. Calhoun brought me home from the funeral of Mr. Law. We had some conversation upon the quarrel between Colonel Cumming, of Georgia, and Mr. McDuffie, the member of Congress from South Carolina, Calhoun's protégé, friend, and partisan. This feud has become a sort of historical incident. It originated in the rivalry between Crawford and Calhoun for the Presidential succession; began by some vulgar abuse upon each other in newspapers, in consequence of which Cumming challenged McDuffie before the last session of Congress, and came here last winter during the session to fight him. The meeting was then postponed to thirty days after the close of the session of Congress, when they met, and McDuffie was shot in the back. They then returned to the war of newspaper ribaldry, till Cumming challenged him a second time. By double manœuvring on both sides about the time, place, and circumstances of meeting, the second duel was avoided, and each party resorted again to hand-bills, posting, newspaper proclamations of imputed cowardice, and pamphleteering. The seconds, surgeons, and others have got involved in the dispute, and all have become the laughing-stock of the public throughout the Union, except in South Carolina and Georgia, where the parties are feasted and toasted "alive or dead." Never was such a burlesque upon duels since the practice existed. Both parties were considered as unerring shots, and there was, before they fought, much ludicrous lamentation in the presage that they would both be killed. From the contradictory statements of both parties, it appears that it has been on the part of Cumming a deliberate and determined purpose of assassination, founded on a confidence in his own shooting, joined to a belief of McDuffie's want of nerve to meet the occasion without disabling trepidation; and, on the part of McDuffie, a faltering resolution, shrinking both from the fight and the refusal to fight; dragged into the field against his will and without just cause, behaving equivocally upon it, making and snatching at pretences to withdraw from it, boasting of his

own firmness against the evidence of facts, and covering his retreat by charging cowardice upon his antagonist. Calhoun does not talk of it with pleasure, but says Cumming is subject to hereditary insanity from his mother. He told me that General Jackson would certainly come to the next Congress in the place of N. Cannon.

7th. Received a letter from George M. Dallas, of Philadelphia, enclosing a copy of the oration which I delivered on the 17th of July, 1787, at Commencement, upon taking my degree of Bachelor of Arts. He says he found it among some of his late father's papers, but does not know how it came there. Nor do I; but it is the copy which, at the request of the late Dr. Belknap, I furnished him for publication in a monthly magazine, then published at Philadelphia, and it was printed in the number for the month of September, 1787. I little thought of ever seeing the manuscript again; but the delivery of the oration was one of the most memorable events of my life. The incidents attending it were of a nature to make a deep impression upon my mind. The appointment to deliver it was itself a high distinction. Yet it was but the second honor of the class, and he who took the first, the preferred rival, sunk at the age of thirty-five, to be forgotten. I re-perused this production now with humiliation; to think how proud of it I was then, and how much I must blush for it now!

8th. Mr. H. Johnson, the Senator from Louisiana, came, and I read to him the copy received from Mr. Rush of the Convention concluded at St. Petersburg last July by Mr. Middleton and Sir Charles Bagot, under the Russian mediation, to carry into effect the Emperor's decision upon the contested construction of the provision in the first article of the Treaty of Ghent, against the carrying away of slaves. Johnson made the same objection against the assumption of an average value for the slaves as had been taken by Mr. Calhoun, who has probably suggested it to him.

13th. Heard Mr. Little preach the funeral sermon upon the death of Mr. John Law. His text was 1st Corinthians xv. 26: "The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death." This is the chapter in which the immortality of the soul and the resur-

rection of the dead is argued to all the reason and urged to all the feelings of human nature with the deepest logic and sublimest eloquence of St. Paul. I am always profoundly affected by the perusal of this chapter. Mr. Little's comment upon it was sensible and temperate. Death and immortality are topics never unsuitable nor exhaustible to a teacher of religion and morality. He noticed but slightly Mr. Law himself, though in appropriate terms; and he spoke also of the decease of Mr. Young. They were both members of his religious society, and had both taken much interest in its formation, and in the erection of the church. He gave notice that there would be no afternoon service, but that the funeral of Mr. Young would be at four in the afternoon. At the close of the service Pope's "Dying Christian to his Soul" was sung as an anthem, with the accompaniment of the organ, and with much effect. This ode is exquisitely beautiful, though most singularly compounded of five half-ludicrous Latin lines, said to have been spoken by the Emperor Hadrian at the article of death, of Sappho's fiery lyric ode, and of that triumphant and transporting apostrophe of St. Paul in the fifty-fifth verse of this fifteenth chapter of Corinthians: "O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?" From these materials, upon a suggestion and at the request of Steele, Pope wrote this truly seraphic song, to be set to music. In comparing it with the lines of Hadrian, I see the effect of the Christian doctrines upon the idea of death. Pope contends that there is nothing trifling, or even gay, in the lines of Hadrian; but his imagination leads his judgment astray. The heathen philosophers taught that death was to be met with indifference, and Hadrian attempted to carry this doctrine into practice by joking at his own death while in its agonies. Yet the thought of what was to become of his soul was grave and serious, and his idea of its future state was that of darkness and gloom. The character of his lines, therefore, is a singular mixture of levity and sadness, the spirit of which appears to me to be lost in Pope's translation of them, given in a letter to Steele. I set down the lines here, with a translation of them as literal and as much in their spirit as I can make them.

Animula, vagula, blandula,
Hospes comesque corporis,
Quæ nunc abibis in loca?
Pallidula, rigida, nudula,
Nec (ut soles) dabis joca!

Dear, fluttering, flattering little soul,
Partner and inmate of this clay,
Oh, whither art thou now to stroll?
Pale, shivering, naked little droll,
No more thy wonted jokes to play!

Pope insists that the diminutives are epithets not of levity, but of endearment. They are significant of both, and the repetition of them, with the rhyme of "*loca*" and "*joca*" in Latin verses of that age, decisively marks the merriment of affected indifference. In the process of the correspondence, Steele desired Pope to make an ode as of a cheerful dying spirit; that is to say, the Emperor Hadrian's "Animula, vagula," put into two or three stanzas for music. This hint was Pope's inspiration. He made the cheerful dying spirit a *Christian*, and cheerful death then became the moment of triumphant exultation, and the song is, as it were, the song of an angel. I was deeply moved at its performance.

21st. Home between four and five o'clock to an early dinner, to attend the evening exhibition of "Mr. Mathews at Home." The doors of the theatre were advertised to be opened at a quarter before six, and the performance to begin at a quarter before seven. We went near half an hour before the doors opened, and were standing, ladies and gentlemen in a crowd, waiting for admission to the audience of Mr. Mathews. When the door was at length forced open, the house was full to overflow in the space of time necessary for occupying all the seats. The performances were "The Trip to Paris," and "The Diligence." Mathews, the sole performer, personated in the course of the evening ten or twelve characters, male and female, with varieties of voice and countenance scarcely credible. He has at command a distinct female voice, and the power of ventriloquism by which he maintains with ease a dialogue of several interlocutors. He has also extraordinary powers of mimicry, a talent perhaps intimately connected with that of varying so much the tones of his voice. His performance was divided into three parts, each occupying upwards of an hour; at the end of the first and second of which he withdrew from the stage for a space of eight or ten minutes. For the two first

parts he had a table before him, at which he stood and discoursed, as if delivering a lecture; a chair behind him, in which he occasionally seated himself in personating particular characters, the costumes of which he assumed in the presence of the audience, by a movement never taking two minutes of time. He thus travestied himself as a French Professor, a German Professor of Craniology, and an old Scotchwoman telling a story how the keys of the kirk were lost. In these parts he imitated the Scotch, the German, and the French pronunciation of English inimitably; and the caricature face of the broad-cheeked, wide-mouthed, heavy-moulded German, then of the long, lank, projected single-toothed Frenchman, with a powdered, pomatumed, frizzled toupet, and a head sunk into a perpetual shrug of the shoulders, and next of the smooth-tongued, oily-mouthed, coax-accented Scottish old woman, were in the most exact congeniality with their several modes of speech. In relating the adventures of the passage from Dover to Calais, he introduced a dialogue between several of the supposed characteristic passengers, and described them under the operation of seasickness with great humor, and yet without indelicacy. In the third act, instead of his table he had a scene as of the door of a stage-office, and a French diligence standing at the back of the scene. He began with personating an English *Boots*, a waiter at the stage-office; then came in, successively, in four characters taking seats in the diligence, and finally in that of the driver, Monsieur Poudre Meneur, with his blue-and-red uniform, his long-queued powdered hair, his jack-boots, and his wood thonged whip. His mode of withdrawing from the stage to change his character and dress was by getting into the diligence, and each time, when getting in, he gave a disputing dialogue between the person entering and those supposed to be already seated in it. One of his personages was a doll figure dressed like a boy, shut up in a box, from which he occasionally drew him and held with him a ridiculous dialogue. An old maid brought in another box, in which was supposed to be a lap-dog, the yelling of which, upon being supposed to be pinched, he imitated as exactly as all his varieties of the human voice. The whole entertainment

was interspersed with occasional humorous songs, at which, during the two first acts, he had the accompaniment of a performer on the piano, but worse than none—the musician being so rapt in ecstasy at the exhibition of Mathews himself as to be never in time for his own. This entertainment was wonderful and amusing, and continually laughable, and yet passed heavily off. Most of the hearers are weary of it before it is over. Its humor is all light; its wit flashing away in puns, its ridicule often resolvable into mere absurdity. It is a picture of Teniers or of Jan Steen—imitation to admire, of that which in nature is only despised.

23d. At the office I received a letter from Cortland Parker, our Consul at Curaçoa, with an account of an abortive expedition against the island of Porto Rico, fitted out chiefly at New York and Philadelphia, under the command of a German officer in the real or pretended service of the republic of Colombia, and named the Baron Holstein. One of his vessels was under the flag of the Netherlands, but those that went from the United States were engaged upon false pretences, and when the real object was discovered the captains refused to proceed. They went into Curaçoa, where the vessels were seized. They had rendezvous'd at the Five Islands, an appendage to the Swedish island of St. Bartholomew, whence I had some days since received the first advices of this expedition from Mr. Robert Monroe Harrison. Mr. Parker has sent me several printed papers found on board the vessel seized at Curaçoa: being a declaration of independence of the island of , formerly Porto Rico; a declaration of the Baron Holstein, as provincial Supreme Chief of the island; and proclamations in his name to the inhabitants of the island, and to foreign nations, announcing the revolution as completed, and promising protection, freedom, and good government. One of these proclamations is signed by Baptis Irvine, as Secretary of State. A precious Minister of the Interior!

24th. Mr. Canning called at the office, having the night before last returned from his summer excursion. He has been to Quebec, Montreal, and Boston. He brought with him a letter from the King of Great Britain, addressed to the United States of America,

which, he said, being rather of an old date, he would request me to take charge of, to be delivered to the President, rather than ask a special audience for the purpose. It was merely a notification of the birth of a daughter to the Duke of Cambridge at Hanover. We had also a couple of hours of desultory conversation upon various political topics, as well of general interest as of particular concernment between the two nations at this time. He spoke first of the measures recently adopted in England, and here, for opening the commercial intercourse between this country and the British Colonies in America. He observed that complaint had been made to him that by a circular letter from the Comptroller of the Treasury to the Collectors of the Customs, explanatory of the President's proclamation of 24th August last, the foreign tonnage and discriminating duties were levied upon British vessels from the American Colonies and upon articles imported in them. He said this was not only short of reciprocity to the provisions of the Act of Parliament opening the Colonial ports to our vessels, but laid the British navigation under such disadvantages as would make it impossible for them to pursue the trade in competition with ours. There was another restriction, too, upon British vessels from the Colonies, which had no counterpart in the Act of Parliament; those from the West Indies being allowed to import only British West Indian articles, and those from North America only articles of their own growth or produce. As the object on both sides was to open the intercourse on terms of reciprocity, and as these regulations were so incompatible with it, he hoped we would remove them immediately; and he remarked that the Act of Parliament authorized the King in Council to withhold the privileges of the intercourse from nations which should not grant the same privileges to British vessels in return.

I told him we were aware of that, and that the proclamation had gone as far as the President was authorized by the Act of Congress of the last session to go, in meeting this overture. We had even given a very enlarged construction to the words of the Act by admitting vessels from North American ports under an authority to admit vessels from the West Indies. But the Act of Parliament did not grant to our vessels the

advantages secured to them in the European British ports by the Convention of 3d July, 1815. It admitted them only by a voyage direct from the United States, allowed them to return only to the United States. It admitted only certain enumerated articles, and charged them with duties almost equivalent to prohibition; while it excluded the most important articles of our exports suited to the Colonial markets. Besides which, our vessels which had entered their ports in the West Indies under the Act of Parliament had been subjected to an export duty levied by the Colonial authority, distinct from the duties levied by the Act of Parliament, and were otherwise so shackled and trammelled that our own merchants thought it impossible for them to pursue the trade in competition with the British, and we had received remonstrances against opening the ports at all, subject to the conditions required under this Act of Parliament. I mentioned to him the letters I had received from Mr. Hollingsworth, the Consul at St. Eustatius, with the enclosed opinion of the Attorney-General of St. Kitts, and promised to have them looked up and to show them to him. I told him also that I had written to Mr. Rush immediately after the proclamation issued, mentioning the continued disposition of this Government to concur with the British in any measures necessary for settling this intercourse upon principles of reciprocity, and our belief that some further understanding between the two Governments concerning it would be advisable.

The next subject upon which he touched was the disagreeing reports of the Commissioners under the fifth article of the Treaty of Ghent. He said that before he left the city last summer, he had written to his Government for instructions in reference to what had passed between us; he had not yet received his answer, and perhaps it might be now further delayed by the changes in the British Ministry consequent upon the death of the Marquis of Londonderry. I asked him if Mr. George Canning would accept of the office of Secretary for the Foreign Department in preference to that of Governor-General of India, to which he had already been appointed.

He thought he would. The place in India is more lucrative —that in England more brilliant and more deeply responsible.

I said that from what I had observed of Mr. Canning's character I believed that upon a question resolvable only by that alternative, he would without hesitation choose the place at home; but I had supposed other considerations would be involved in the formation of his decision. Mr. Canning had been more than once distinguished in his relations with the Cabinet by adherence to his personal independence more than to his place. He was supposed to entertain opinions upon important objects of national policy clashing with those of other leading members of the Cabinet. Whether they could be reconciled, or whether they could be disposed of so that an Administration could move in the harmony necessary for successful operation under them, was an enquiry which I should expect would give more cause for hesitation to Mr. Canning than a mere question between money and glory. It was expected, if Mr. Canning should come into the Foreign Department, that the foreign policy of Great Britain would undergo some modification; that the proceedings of the Congress at Vienna would be affected by it.

He said the Duke of Wellington was going to the Congress of Vienna; but the Duke of Wellington goes only to execute instructions, and the system must go from the Foreign Department. Assenting to this remark, he passed to the subject of the slave-trade, and enquired if we were prepared to resume that discussion. I said we were prepared to receive and consider any further observations which he might be disposed to offer concerning it. He said that in his late tour he had become satisfied that our compliance with the proposal of admitting mutual search depended personally and exclusively upon me. I assured him he had been misinformed, as he might hereafter have occasion to know. This topic was not further pressed, and he withdrew.

26th. Cabinet meeting at the President's at noon. Present, Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Wirt. The subject for consideration was the instructions to be given to Captain Biddle, who is going to cruise in the West Indian seas. Letters from Captains Spence, Cassin, and Renshaw, who have been recently cruising there, to the Secretary of the Navy, were read. The instructions here-

tofore given to our naval officers, under the recent slave-trade and piracy Acts, were brought in by Mr. Homans, the Chief Clerk of the Navy Department. From the annoyance to our commerce of late by pirates of various descriptions, and from the capture of several of them, with real or colorable Spanish commissions, questions have arisen how far the instructions to Biddle should be modified; how far privateering commissions from Porto Rico may be respected; whether a blockade of all the ports of Terra Firma, by mere declarations of Spanish officers at Porto Cavallo, should be recognized; and whether Biddle should be authorized to convoy our merchant vessels to any of those ports. The Spanish privateers from Porto Rico began by capturing all vessels bound to or from any of the ports in Terra Firma, on the double pretence of a blockade of the whole coast declared by Spanish officers, themselves besieged in the only port possessed by them, and having only one old frigate and two small vessels to support it; and of the old Spanish exclusion of all foreign vessels from the ports of these Colonies. And in one case, when the Judge at Porto Rico decreed the restoration of a vessel carried in there, the captain of the privateer told him in open Court that if his prize was thus released he would follow her out of the port, take her again, and carry her into Porto Cavallo. The Palmyra, some days before she was taken by the Grampus, had made an attempt and pretension to examine and search an American vessel under her convoy.

The President now inclined to give instructions to Biddle to remonstrate, to the Governor of Porto Rico, and to the commanders of any Spanish armed vessels with whom he may fall in, against the blockade, and to declare that it cannot be acknowledged by the United States as valid, but to avoid any positive act of force against it. But Spence and Renshaw both have remonstrated against the blockade to the Governor of Porto Rico, who answered them that he would report their remonstrances to the Spanish Government; but that it had been declared by the commanding officers in Terra Firma, over whose acts he had no control, nor could he revoke them.

I thought Biddle should be instructed to go into Porto

Cavallo itself and there declare to the Spanish commanders themselves that the United States would not recognize their paper blockades, and also to convoy American vessels to or from any port not actually invested; and in no case whatever to permit the search or boarding of any vessel under his convoy.

Calhoun was at first startled at this. He thought that to resist the search would be war, and doubted the power of the Executive to give such instructions.

I said it was the old question of Sterrett and the Enterprise, who, after fighting and compelling the Tripolitan cruiser to surrender, let her go because he thought he could not bring her in as a prize. To authorize force in self-defence I believed the authority of the Executive under our Constitution to be entirely competent, and if a naval officer could be authorized to convoy at all, he must be authorized to defend the convoyed vessel as he would his own, against force.

Calhoun asked if we could authorize the merchant vessel itself to resist the belligerent right of search. I said, no; and that the British claimed the right of searching convoyed vessels, but that we had never admitted that right, and that the opposite principle was that of the armed neutrality. They maintained that a convoy was a pledge on the part of the convoying nation that the convoyed vessel has no articles of contraband on board, and is not going to a blockaded port; and the word of honor of the commander of the convoy to that effect must be given. But, I added, if we could instruct our officer to give convoy at all, we cannot allow him to submit to the search by foreigners of a vessel under his charge; for it is placing our officer and the nation itself in an attitude of inferiority and humiliation.

The President agreed with this opinion, and Mr. Calhoun declared his acquiescence in it; and it was determined that the instructions to Biddle should be drawn accordingly. Mr. Calhoun asked me if Mr. Early, of Georgia, had called upon me. He had not. He had upon Calhoun, and upon the President. His object was to represent that the Marshal for the District of Georgia was now accumulating a fortune of at least thirty thousand dollars a year by working a number of African

negroes who are in his possession as Marshal of the District, while at the same time he is making the most enormous charges against the public for the maintenance of the very same negroes; that he makes it his open boast that he holds the office of Marshal for no other purpose, and that he intends to *swamp* the negroes—that is, to work them to death—before they shall be finally adjudicated out of his possession. Mr. Early adds that his cruelty to negroes is universally notorious, and that it is equally well known that he did commit the murder of the black man for which he was tried and acquitted. The principal witnesses against him were *spirited* away. Early declares himself to be of the same political party with the Marshal (Crawford's), but is so horror-struck at the character and conduct of the man that he feels it to be his duty to denounce him. Yet he does not incline to support his charges with his name, the Marshal being a man of such desperation that everybody fears him. Early wished that the District Attorney and Judge might be authorized to investigate the circumstances of the custody of these negroes, but I thought it very doubtful whether that would avail. The District Attorney had shown in a former case that he was not the man to grapple with deep and deadly villainy supported by wealth and standing in society. The President inclined to send a person to Savannah specially charged with the investigation. Mr. Calhoun intimated the propriety of dismissing the Marshal immediately from office, but the President said that could not be done while there was no avowed accuser against him. I received last year two *anonymous* letters charging him with the murder of the negro, but Mr. Tatnall and Mr. Cuthbert, both highly-respectable members of the Georgia delegation in Congress, took so deep an interest in his favor that he was re-appointed to the Marshal's office, though I did believe that the ineffaceable stain of blood was upon his hands. The President determined for the present only to direct that the accounts for keeping the negroes should not be paid at the Navy Department, and that further examination should be made hereafter.

28th. Visit of two hours at the office from Mr. Canning. He resumed the subject of the West India trade, and urged

again for the admission of British vessels from the Colonial ports upon the same terms with regard to duties as our own. I repeated to him that the President could do nothing further before the meeting of Congress. He said he was afraid he should be obliged then to trouble me with a long note upon the subject. I told him I should then of course lay it before the President, by whom it would be deliberately considered.

He took from his pocket immediately, and gave me, his note, and with it an extract of a letter from Barbadoes, mentioning that orders had been received there from London to admit American vessels upon payment of the *same fees* as are paid by British vessels, and expressing some misgivings how it would all operate; and a sort of imperious assurance that their vessels must of course be admitted into our ports upon the same terms as our own.

I observed that this would be more than was even implied in the letter as being extended to us, for that spoke only of the same fees, which included neither duties nor port charges by the necessary import of the term; but that a different construction appeared to have been given to the Act of Parliament in other islands; and I looked up and read to him the letter from Mr. Hollingsworth, and the opinion enclosed in it of the King's attorney, Woodley, at St. Kitts. I then asked how it would be possible for our vessels to stand any competition in the trade with theirs, while theirs should enjoy here every advantage and exemption of our own liberty to import from all their ports West Indian, North American, or British European articles indiscriminately, admitted upon credit for the duties, and subject neither to duty nor restriction upon exportation, while ours were restricted to direct voyages, both to and from their ports and the United States; limited to a specific list of enumerated articles of importation, all heavily laden with duties; and with exclusion of the most important articles of our exports, compelled to cash payment of all the duties, and pinioned with an export bond and ransomed with an export duty of four and a half or five per cent. How was it possible for us to throw wide open all the gates while they only half opened one door?

He said the expression was rather strong, but that the

common object of the Act of Parliament, and of the Act of Congress, was to open the intercourse upon liberal terms of reciprocity; that the Act of Congress in its spirit contemplated a corresponding indulgence to every such provision in the Act of Parliament. Whether yet further accommodations to the trade could be hereafter granted might be a subject of negotiation, or of further legislation, but in the mean time it appeared consonant to our own interest to yield a specific counterpart for every favor extended to our vessels by the Act of Parliament; and as that subjected neither our vessels, nor the merchandise imported in them, to any duties to which British vessels and the same articles imported in them are not also liable, in the spirit of both Acts, British vessels and their importations here are fairly entitled to the same advantages as our own, and if not now granted, would give them hereafter a fair claim for indemnity to the full extent in which they may be withheld.

I said that was what we could not admit. The Act of Parliament was an act of voluntary legislation on the part of Great Britain, passed with reference to her own interest, and requiring nothing of us as obligatory in return. We were indeed disposed to meet it in a spirit of liberality, and even to go further; but we must judge of its liberality to us from the practical result of its operation, and not from the specific purport of its provisions. For real reciprocity and equal competition we are prepared, but not for dispositions reciprocal by the letter and one-sided in their effect.

He said that the restriction of importations to West Indian articles from the West Indies, and to North American articles from North America, had no counterpart in the British Act of Parliament. The Act of Parliament admitted vessels from all parts of the United States with productions of any part. A vessel from Boston, for example, could carry the produce of Virginia or of Louisiana, and vice versâ. But the proclamation considered the British Colonies in the West Indies as one country, and the British Colonies in North America as another. The British Government might as well discriminate between the Northern and the Southern States. The British Act considered all the countries under the same Government as one.

We divided the Colonies into two classes, and refused to receive the productions of one class from the ports of the other.

I replied that this restriction, though not identical as a specific counterpart to theirs, was corresponding to it as to the effect. They admitted us only to enumerated ports. They admitted only enumerated articles. They loaded these articles with almost prohibitory duties, and excluded from them our principal articles of trade adapted to the market. Our counter-restriction is not by enumeration either of articles or of places, but by classification of both. The British Colonies in the West Indies and in North America are, to all purposes of commerce and navigation, countries as different from each other as Portugal and Sweden. They are under a Government totally different in relation to our intercourse with them from that of Great Britain. As a specific counterpart to their restrictions, we might admit them only to a few of our ports, we might admit only enumerated articles, and exclude rum or sugar from the list. Instead of this, we excludé West Indian articles from North America, and North American articles from the West Indies. The effect is a counter-restriction; the difference is only of form.

He left the note with me, rather, he said, as a memorandum which he might perhaps wish hereafter to revise. He then asked if we had received the Convention concluded at St. Petersburg about the slaves. We had not; though we have advice of Mr. Charles Pinkney, the Secretary of the Legation, having sailed with it on the 17th of July. He asked if we had not received a copy of the Convention. I said we had, but it was from England, through Mr. Rush. I enquired if he was informed whether it had been ratified in England; he said he was not. I told him Mr. Rush had been informed that it was in a process of ratification, and remarked upon the extraordinary solemnity which the lawyers in England considered as essential to the act of fixing the Great Seal to an instrument, exemplified in the scruples of Dr. Adams at Ghent, whether the Treaty of Peace could be executed in triplicates.

Mr. Canning finally mentioned again the reports of the Commissioners under the fifth article of the Treaty of Ghent. The disagreement of the Commissioners is as to the place of the

highlands which divide the rivers flowing into the St. Lawrence from the waters that fall into the Atlantic Ocean, and they differ by a space of more than a hundred miles. Mr. Canning said that on his late excursion he had accidentally met with a geographer of this country, who, without knowing him, had very strongly confirmed the opinion of the British Commissioner, Colonel Barclay. For in looking over one of this geographer's maps of that region, he (Canning) had pointed at the place where the American Commissioner pronounced the highlands to be, and said, "Why, there must be hills along here," upon which the geographer had said, "Oh, no; nothing of the kind there."

I smiled, and said I fancied that must have been an English geographer.

He did not deny it, but said he believed Mellish himself was an Englishman. I then asked him whether it was probable we could negotiate for a successful adjustment of that line. Why, what were we disposed to do? "Then," said I, "you want a road between your two provinces, do you not?" "Yes." "Well," said I, "we will treat on this basis. You shall have the road, and give us an equivalent accommodation in territory." He appeared thus far satisfied; but had not yet received his instructions from England authorizing him to proceed in the negotiation.

29th. I called at the President's with two notes from the Spanish Minister, Anduaga: one, repeating the demand before what tribunal prosecutions may be brought by persons having suffered from the American army in Florida in the year 1818, conformably to the ninth article of the Florida Treaty; the other, a bitter complaint, first against the late Captain Elton, of the Spark, whom he charges with having suppressed a document given him by the officer of a prize crew of a Dutch vessel, prize to a Spanish privateer, retaken by the Spark, and which prize crew are under charges of piracy before the United States Circuit Court at Charleston, South Carolina; to which Anduaga adds a long enumeration of other complaints of hostile armaments against Spain in our ports, overlooked or connived at by the Government of the United States.

As to the first of these notes, I observed to the President that there was no existing tribunal which could take cognizance of those cases, and suggested to him the expediency of proposing to Congress the institution of such a tribunal, which he said he would. As to the other note, the President felt some indignation at the tone in which it was written, and thought that in the reply it would be proper to make a full statement of all the piracies upon our commerce recently committed by vessels under Spanish colors. The charge against Elton must be examined into. I left with the President Mr. Canning's note concerning the West India trade, and Hollingsworth's letter with the enclosed opinion of the Attorney-General at St. Kitts. The President said he wished to begin the draft of his message for the commencement of the session of Congress, but he was subject to such perpetual interruptions here that it was scarcely possible. He had thoughts of going for a few days alone to Loudoun, merely to have a little leisure for writing. Here, unless he denied access to himself, there was not a moment of the day from breakfast-time that he could command.

30th. Mr. Parish called at the office for Mr. Canning, to request the return of his note upon the West India trade, that he might make two or three alterations in it. I told him it was at the President's, but promised to obtain and return it, so that Mr. Canning might make any alterations in it that he thought proper. Parish brought also to read an extract of a dispatch from Mr. Canning to his Government, giving an account of his last conference with me. It was not altogether accurate, and I desired Mr. Parish to mention to Mr. Canning the particulars in which it was otherwise. In relating the earnestness with which he had urged a new explanatory proclamation for the admission of British vessels from the Colonies without additional tonnage or discriminating duties, he had not noticed the principal and insuperable objection made by me—the want of authority in the Executive to remove them. The omission gives an incorrect view of the whole conference.

31st. Baron Stackelberg, the Swedish Chargé d'Affaires, sent me a note complaining of, and protesting against, a breach of his diplomatic privileges, by an attempt of a constable to arrest

one of his servants, a mulatto woman, in his house. I mentioned this note to the President, who called at the office. Upon enquiry, it appeared that Stackelberg had never sent to the Department a list of his family, as the Act of Congress requires, nor had he ever been informed that it was required by the law. The constables are appointed by the city corporation. I desired Mr. Brent to see the Mayor and enquire into the circumstances of this case, and to desire that all the police officers of the city should be strictly enjoined never to presume to serve a process in the house of a foreign Minister. I requested him also to call on Baron Stackelberg and assure him that every suitable measure should be taken to give him satisfaction, as well as to prevent the recurrence of any such accident in future. I thought it better to take this course rather than that of a formal diplomatic correspondence on the subject. This was also the President's opinion. I mentioned to the President that Mr. Canning had desired to have his note back, to make some alterations in it. He said he would send it to me. I read to him the draft of my letter to R. Rush of 27th August last, immediately after the issuing of the proclamation. He desired me to send him a copy of it. I asked him also for the letter from Mr. Hollingsworth, with the opinion of the King's Attorney at St. Kitts, Woodley —papers important for the answer to Mr. Canning's note.

November 1st. I received a dispatch from H. Middleton, our Minister at St. Petersburg, dated $\frac{8}{20}$th August, relating entirely to the Northwest Coast controversy. The Baron de Tuyl is coming out as Minister from Russia, charged with a proposal for negotiating on the subject. Speransky, now Governor-General of Siberia, told Middleton that they had at first thought of declaring the Northern Pacific Ocean a "mare clausum," but afterwards took the one hundred Italian miles from the thirty leagues in the Treaty of Utrecht, which is an exclusion only from a fishery, and not from navigation. I took this letter, which is most confidential, to the President, and desired him, after reading it, to return it to me, that it may not be exposed to be brought before the public, which Mr. Middleton requests that it may not. The President read me a paragraph of the draft of his message, which he has begun to prepare. It related

to the proclamation of 24th August and intercourse with the British Colonies in America. I asked him if he would not think it advisable to notice in the message the latitude of construction which was given to the term West Indies, in the Act of Congress of 6th May, by the proclamation. He said he would.

2d. We had company to dinner—the Commissioners, White, King, and Tazewell, Major L. Austin, D. Brent, J. A. Dix, F. C. Gray, H. Johnson, Mr. and Mrs. Orne, T. Watkins, and Mr. and Mrs. Wirt. There had also been invited General Brown, Mr. and Mrs. Brown, of Louisiana, Mr. Cowper, Mr. and Mrs. Frye, Mr. E. Livingston, Captain Patterson, and General Winder, who came not. We were twenty at table. The dinner was pleasant, with the exception of one incident: in a desultory conversation upon wines, Mr. Tazewell asserted, and perseveringly insisted, that Tokay was a species of Rhenish wine. After insisting to the contrary for some time in perfect good humor and civility, as he still persisted, in the warmth of the collision I said, "Why, you never drank a drop of Tokay in your life." I set this down as a token of self-disapprobation for having said it. Tazewell made no reply, but looked hurt. The conversation turned upon other topics, and on leaving the table he went away without returning with the rest of the company to the drawing-room. I have no good apology to make to myself for this incivility; for that Tazewell himself is not sparing of feelings in the clash of conversation, and had been much otherwise even at this dinner, is no justification to me.

7th. The day after I dismissed John B. Colvin from the Department of State I saw his hand in the Washington City Gazette. He has since commenced a series of numbers under the editorial part of that paper, headed "The Presidential Question," each of two or three columns. Five numbers have appeared, written in Colvin's best manner, professing to give a delineation of my character, and scanning my pretensions to the Presidency. They present me in caricature, and touch upon everything true, and everything false that can be made to resemble truth, which could degrade me in the popular opinion. They are written with just so much regard to truth as to seize on single facts to which a suspicious coloring may be given,

from which a whole tale of falsehood is fabricated and asserted as fact, to exhibit me as a base and despicable character. Between three and four years ago, Colvin attempted to fawn himself into my favor by eulogizing me in newspapers. He published a characteristic portrait of me so highly charged that, on being informed it was written by him, I requested him to abstain from any such publications having any personal reference to me whatever; that if he inclined to political newspaper discussion, and would defend and vindicate any member of the Administration who might be assailed, his labors would be acceptable, but that I wanted no personal panegyrist. He continued to cringe, however, and to work windingly for my good graces; but, besides the warning of his old treachery to Robert Smith, the more I saw of him the more reason I had for distrusting him; and I never placed any confidence in him. He had shrewdness enough after a year or two of ineffectual parasitical courtship to discover his failure, and among my present characteristics enumerates a lurking and distrustful suspicion in the eye. He would occasionally endeavor indirectly to get sight of the secret diplomatic documents, but they were kept out of his reach. His absences from the office and neglect of his duties, in the mean time, kept increasing with his habits of intemperance, till they could no longer be tolerated. I had long been aware that it must ultimately come to this, and have been gradually breaking his hold from the office, till he could be dismissed without inconvenience. I knew that from that moment he would become the bitterest of my revilers; and of the whole tribe he is the only one who can be instigated to injure me by revenge. A comparison between his portrait of 1819 and his caricature now would be curious, as marking the depraved ingenuity of unprincipled intellect. The five numbers on the Presidential question teem with falsehoods. I wrote this morning, and sent to Gales and Seaton, a short paper containing a direct contradiction of two among the basest of those falsehoods. I did this in deference to feelings in my family, more sensitive to such slanders than my own. No man in America has made his way through showers of ribaldry and invective of this character more fre-

quent and various than I have breasted. A new storm of them has in the last eighteen months burst upon me, and will rage until every indication of a party holding my name up as a candidate for the Presidency shall have vanished.

I received a letter from Joseph R. Ingersoll, at Philadelphia, stating that a new Commission would issue from the Court, to take over again my first deposition in the case of Harris *vs.* Lewis, on account of some informality, real or apprehended, in the taking of it before.

I was at the President's, and met Mr. Calhoun there. The President directed a Cabinet meeting for one o'clock to-morrow, to consider my draft of an answer to Mr. Canning's letter upon the Comptroller's Circular and the Colonial intercourse. He read me a paragraph that he had prepared to insert in the message, recommending to Congress the institution of a tribunal in Florida to carry into effect the stipulation in the ninth article of the Florida Treaty. The Governor of the Arkansas Territory, James Miller, has requested leave of absence for the *next summer*. I took his letter to the President, who directed me to answer that he might have leave of absence for such term as would not be incompatible with the convenience of the public service; for which the President expected he would make effectual provision.

8th. Cabinet meeting at the President's at one o'clock. Present Mr. Crawford and Mr. Calhoun. The Attorney-General is at Baltimore. Mr. Canning's letter was read by the President, and I read the draft of my answer. Mr. Canning's complaint is twofold: one, that while the Act of Parliament levies the same duties on our importations to the Colonies whether in American or in British vessels, and admits direct importations in American vessels of the products of the whole United States, our proclamation, as explained by the Comptroller's letter, levies foreign tonnage duties and the ten per cent. additional on merchandise, and limits the importations to West India products from the West Indies, and to North American products from North America, when imported in British vessels. And he argues that in the principle of reciprocity for opening the intercourse Great Britain has a right to

claim that we should impose no restriction upon the British navigation employed in it which is not a specific counterpart of a like restriction upon our navigation in the Act of Parliament. My answer alleges a want of authority in the Executive to remove the tonnage and discriminating duties, and denies the principle that we should be confined to specific counterparts of any restrictions in the Act of Parliament. It enumerates the various restrictions upon our navigation as admitted under the Act of Parliament, and says that our restrictions may perhaps not be sufficient to counteract them.

Mr. Crawford expressed a doubt whether the second point of Canning's complaint was completely answered by my draft. He said that as to the tonnage and other discriminating duties, it was clear that the President had no authority to repeal them, but he might remove the restriction upon the importations, so as to admit the productions of all the Colonies from any of the Colonial ports. And he inclined to the opinion that the discriminating duties were sufficient to countervail, in favor of our navigation, the British restrictions. This, however, is altogether conjectural.

Mr. Calhoun enquired whether we had any facts, and knew how the late opening of the intercourse had operated. I had nothing but Hollingsworth's letters, and Mr. Crawford had nothing. There was some discussion as to the effect of admitting in British vessels West India produce from North America, and North American produce from the West Indies. Mr. Calhoun remarked upon the advantage it would give in making up assorted cargoes, and I observed that its effect must be estimated in connection with the latitude of exportation which we have allowed to British vessels without restriction, while they lay our vessels under export bonds to land their cargoes exclusively in the United States.

Mr. Crawford finally said, and all agreed, that no alteration of the proclamation would be advisable; the meeting of Congress approaching now within a month, and it being evident that the regulation of the intercourse with the British Colonies must be a subject of negotiation between the Governments. The President suggested the propriety of omitting

the passage of my draft which intimated that the counter-restrictions of the proclamation might perhaps not be sufficient, but consented that it should remain modified to say they were surely not more than sufficient.

9th. My short note to Gales and Seaton, exposing two of the many falsehoods in Colvin's abusive papers on the Presidential question, was published this morning in the National Intelligencer, as a communication, and a reply appeared in the Washington Gazette of this evening, re-asserting them, adding a number more of falsehoods, and redoubling scurrilous invectives.

At the office, Count de Menou, Chargé d'Affaires of France, called, just returned from his excursion of several weeks to Philadelphia. He said he had received letters of 13th September from the Baron Hyde de Neuville, who has been received with great distinction by the King. Every member of the Legation has been noticed by some mark of favor. An ordinance issued for carrying into effect the Convention from the 1st of October, but it has not been ratified. Menou said that they probably wished to take time and consult the Chambers of Commerce, to act deliberately with regard to the ratification; that Hersant would come out in the the Six Brothers, a vessel which was to sail from Havre for New York in October, but he did not appear to expect that he would bring the ratified Convention. That is ultimately to be brought out by Bresson. The demur, I have no doubt, is upon the separate article proposed by De Neuville himself, and which they will probably not ratify.

Reading further in Walpole's Memoirs, or Secret History of the British Administrations from 1750 to 1760, I find in them many things that remind me of the present state of things here. The public history of all countries, and all ages, is but a sort of mask, richly colored. The interior working of the machinery must be foul. There is as much mining and countermining for power, as many fluctuations of friendship and enmity, as many attractions and repulsions, bargains and oppositions, narrated in these Memoirs, as might be told of our own times. Walpole witnessed it all as a sharer in the

sport, and now tells it to the world as a satirist. And shall not I, too, have a tale to tell?

11th. On returning from the President's, I was occupied until sent for home to dinner in reading the dispatches from Mr. Middleton and Mr. Forsyth. The papers with the treaty are not numerous, but there are other communications highly confidential, particularly a letter of instructions from the late Lord Castlereagh to Sir Charles Bagot, written at Hanover in October, 1821, fully disclosing the policy of the British Cabinet, and of the European alliance, with reference to the differences between Russia and Turkey. Mr. Forsyth's dispatch, as usual, gives a list of a new Ministry in Spain, and represents the political state of that country as more disturbed and threatening than at any former period since their last revolution.

12th. At two, Mr. Francisco Solano Constancio, the new Chargé d'Affaires from Portugal, came to the office. He is new in the diplomatic career, to which he has been introduced by the late revolution in Portugal. He comes last from France, and appears lively and loquacious. He told me that his introductory letter to me from the Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs was of an old date; that he had read the latest correspondence between me and Mr. Amado Grehon; that he should not revive the subjects of it without further instructions from his Government; that they had naturally been much pressed by claimants, Portuguese and Brazilian, who had suffered by capture of their property; but he was happy that nothing further of that kind was likely to occur. Portugal was now at peace with all the world, and there was not even a flag of Artigas under which captures of Portuguese property could be made. Portugal was disposed to recognize the independence of all South America, not excepting Brazil itself, if the people there should desire it. He professed also great attachment to the United States, and high admiration of our political institutions, and said he had been several times on the point of coming to settle in this country as a private individual. He wished to be presented to the President, for which, with the President's subsequent approbation, I appointed one o'clock to-morrow.

The President read to me the paragraphs prepared for his

message relating to Great Britain and the Colonial intercourse; to France and the Commercial Convention, and to Russia, and the mediated Convention; also those concerning South America, and the illegal blockades of both parties to that war. He had not prepared the paragraphs concerning the state of the Treasury, but told me that although, since his return, Mr. Crawford had sent him a statement less favorable than those he had before received from the Chief Clerk and Register of the Treasury, the receipts of the year would exceed the estimates by more than four millions of dollars. I mentioned to the President the negotiation for which we must be prepared with the Russian Minister daily expected, Baron Tuyl, concerning the Russian claims on the northwest coast of this continent, and which I apprehend will be of considerable difficulty, for the whole claim on the part of Russia seems to be groundless. The Emperor has committed himself in the face of the world to pretensions that he cannot sustain, and now comes to obtain by negotiation a part of the wrong by renouncing the remainder.

The President said he had no doubt the Emperor would be satisfied with latitude 55 for the boundary; but I remarked that we had no immediate interest in the boundary question. Having no claim of our own north of 49, it was immaterial to us whether Russia came to 55 or 51. That was a question particularly for Great Britain.

He said the maritime question might be settled by reducing the claim of exclusive jurisdiction to a distance of one marine league from the shore.

I did not apprehend any difficulty in that. The prohibition to our citizens of trading with the Indians of the Northwest coast was the knot that I expected, and the embarrassment will be, that, having no counter-claim on our part, whatever we agree to in the negotiation must in its nature be concession without equivalent. I desired the President to turn his attention to this subject, and to consider whether it would be expedient to communicate with the British Government through Mr. Canning or Mr. Rush concerning it.

He said Great Britain might treat such a communication as she had done with the proposal for acknowledging the inde-

pendence of Buenos Ayres—communicate it immediately to Russia, and turn it to her own account.

To avoid this, I asked if it might not be well, upon the first overtures from Baron Tuyl, to meet them immediately by an enquiry how the question stands in this affair between Great Britain and Russia; with a frank avowal that we think Great Britain has so much claim of interest in this concern that no effective arrangement of it can be concluded without consulting her.

He said it would deserve great consideration.

I also spoke of the necessity of settling some determinate system of diplomatic intercourse with the South American Governments, and expressed my opinion that of the five Plenipotentiary missions for which appropriations were made at the last session of Congress, one at the most ought to be now filled, and I had doubts even of that. If they should, however, be filled, I hoped C. Pinkney would be appointed as one of the Secretaries, as I supposed he would not wish to return to Russia.

The President will consult the Cabinet on the whole subject.

13th. At one o'clock I accompanied the Portuguese Chargé d'Affaires and Mr. Schmitz, whom he introduced as attached to the Legation, to the President's, and presented them to him. He received them in the small drawing-room without formality. Mr. Constancio repeated to him the substance of what he had said yesterday to me, and reciprocal professions of friendly dispositions between the two countries and Governments were passed as usual in such cases. Mr. Constancio particularly dwelt upon the similarity of principles on which the two Governments were now founded, since the late regeneration of Portugal, as forming new links of attachment between them.

After they had withdrawn, I had some conversation with the President concerning the dispatches from Russia and from Spain, which I had left with him yesterday. He had not yet read them through.

There was a letter, too, from Jeremy Robinson, at St. Jago de Chili, to which I had called the President's special attention. It is dated 25th May last, and is filled with bitter complaints

against all the naval officers of the United States who have commanded in the Pacific since 1817, and against J. B. Prevost, the Agent; whose conduct appears not to have been exactly what it ought to have been, but against whom nothing definite has been proved which required, or would justify, a direct censure upon him. From the President's I went to the office of the Navy Department, and saw the Secretary, Mr. Thompson.

15th. Some months since, I received a letter from Richard Emmons, in Kentucky, enclosing the thirtieth canto of an epic poem in thirty-six books, of which the author requested my opinion as a critic. The subject of the poem was the late war with Great Britain, and the thirtieth canto was called The Cruise of the Immortal Blakely. A critical opinion upon an epic poem in thirty-six books was a serious and delicate affair. How could it be given with candor? How could it be declined with civility? To have answered with commendation and *persiflage* would have been very easy, but inhuman, and unworthy of the gravity of my station. I left the poem and the poet's letter in one of the drawers of my table, till I received a few days since a second letter from the author, much concerned at having received no answer from me, and apprehensive that his Cruise of the Immortal Blakely was lost. I answered his letters this day, and enclosed his thirtieth canto, declining to give an opinion upon his epic poem, and commending his patriotism.

16th. The President read to me the paragraphs relating to foreign affairs which he has drawn up for the message, particularly those relating to Spain and Portugal, to South America, to Russia, Turkey, and the Greeks, and to the unsettled state of Europe. I doubted most of those concerning Spain and Portugal, in which he had spoken of their revolutionary prospects more favorably than I thought the state of facts, according to our most recent information, would warrant. He said he would revise them, and would attend particularly to the last dispatch from Mr. Forsyth. His paragraph concerning the Greeks, with a strong expression of sympathy in their favor, adds a sentiment equally explicit, that neither justice nor policy would justify on our part any active interference in their cause. The President said he hoped to be ready to bring the draft of

the whole message before a meeting of the members of the Administration next Tuesday. He proposes also to say something of the repairs of the Cumberland Road, being satisfied that Congress have the right of appropriating money to that purpose.

25th. Mr. Canning came with a note upon the old subject of discrimination between rolled and hammered iron in our tariff, the consideration of which was postponed from the last session of Congress. But we had a long and desultory conversation upon various topics, chiefly, however, upon the Colonial intercourse. We went over again all the topics which have been discussed between us before, both in conversation and in correspondence on this subject. He intimated to me that many of our own merchants thought we had not met the regulations of the Act of Parliament opening the Colonial ports with equal reciprocity. I said I had no doubt he had been, and would be, told so. But he must be aware that most or all of the merchants in this country, with whom he was acquainted or in correspondence, are either British subjects, or so connected as to be in British interests. Our merchants tell a very different story. There would be doubtless a bias of partiality on both sides, but our merchants would of course expect that we should attend to their interests.

He said he thought Congress would see the thing in a more favorable light than this.

I replied that if such a disposition should be manifested in Congress, it would in no wise be counteracted by the Executive, whose only object is to secure the interests of our own people, consistently with the most entire and liberal reciprocity.

He said all the British merchants here were confident that, with the existing tonnage and discriminating duties, in six weeks more there could not be a single British vessel in the trade.

I read to him a paragraph from a letter of John Hollingsworth, dated the 20th of October, at St. Eustatius, and declaring that of all the American vessels that have entered at St. Kitts and Nevis since the opening of the ports, not one had been satisfied.

He touched again upon the discrimination made by us between the North American and the West Indian British Colonies, which I defended, and he contested, on the same argument as heretofore. I told him it was probable, however, that Congress might remove that discrimination and substitute other regulations in its stead; perhaps a limitation to direct voyages, both to and from the Colonies; perhaps a limited list of imports, excepting the most important of their export articles, such as rum, for which they could find no other market, as they excluded our salted fish and provisions.

He said he was sure that was what I was coming to, and again intimated the threat of closing the ports again, which I again told him they were quite free to do, and no doubt would do, if they found it for their interest. We knew that had been their motive for opening the ports. He said we supposed they had been compelled by our restrictive measures to open the ports, but he believed we were in that mistaken. I said that we did not attribute it altogether to that. We ascribed much to the independence of the South American provinces, under which it was impossible that the old exclusive and excluding Colonial system should much longer endure anywhere. He remarked that the reason upon which Colonies were confined to *exclusive* intercourse with the mother-country was the *expense* of their settlement.

Observing me to smile at this, he asked whether it was not so. I asked how much expense the settlement of Mexico and Peru had cost Spain under Cortes and Pizarro. I added, it was conquest and conversion; the bull of Alexander the Sixth and the sword of injustice, in which the exclusions of modern colonization had originated. Spain had set the example. She had forbidden foreigners from setting a foot in her Colonies, upon pain of death, and the other colonizing states of Europe had imitated the exclusion, though not the rigor of the penalty. The expense of colonizing had formed no part of the consideration. The whole system of modern colonization was an abuse of government, and it was time that it should come to an end.

But he said that the British Colonies had been settled upon principles of the utmost liberality. I asked him if he had ever

read Neal's History of the Puritans. No. Well, he knew that the first settlement of New England was made by Puritans? Yes. And they were outcasts from their country for the sake of conscience; and pilgrims from Holland to a wilderness in America for the sake of their country. They came here to escape turning to Dutchmen, and even here could not obtain a charter securing to them the blessing of toleration. He said that was because intolerance was, unfortunately, the spirit of that age; which I admitted, but thought it no proof of the liberality of the British system.

Mr. Canning was also very inquisitive about this expedition of General Ducoudray Holstein and Baptis Irvine against the island of Porto Rico, which he seemed to fear was not yet entirely broken up. He betrayed more of alarm than he avowed. It was apparent to me that he suspected the expedition had been secretly sanctioned or connived at by the American Government, and that we intended to make ourselves masters of Porto Rico. Without appearing to discover his apprehensions, I said what was sufficient to tranquillize them—told him that the expedition was entirely broken up, and that we had known nothing of it until we first heard of it from the island of St. Bartholomew.

He intimated a wish that we should give orders to our public vessels in the West Indies against it, but I gave him no encouragement to expect that we would. Mr. Canning, as usual, kept me till near dark.

26th. Note from the President, directing a meeting of the members of the Administration at one o'clock. Present, Mr. Crawford, Mr. Calhoun, and Mr. Thompson. The President read the draft prepared for his message to Congress at the opening of the session of Congress. It is very long, and contains more of discussion than seemed to me suitable for such a paper. The meeting was adjourned to half-past one to-morrow for reading it by paragraphs. Very few observations upon it were made this day. Calhoun proposed to substitute the words *value* of freight for *cost* of freight, and I proposed the use of the term *freight* alone, which was sufficient to express the idea intended to be conveyed in the passage. The criticism in Calhoun's

objection to the term cost was minute, but ingenious and just. It was in a paragraph concerning the comparative *value* of our exports, and it had been drawn up by Crawford. The term cost, as thus applied to freight, was incorrect, and Calhoun's objection to it showed that he was deeper in political economy than Crawford.

Mr. Crawford objected to a passage concerning the decision of the Emperor of Russia on the Ghent Treaty question. The President had said the documents, *including* a Convention to carry the decision into effect, would be communicated. Crawford thought this mode of expression would appear to imply that the *Convention* had also been made by the Emperor. He had not heard of this Convention before.

There was in the draft a very long paragraph upon the Military Academy at West Point. I thought it occupied too large a space in the message. I doubted whether any part of it was necessary; and there were in it a number of remarks upon the indocility and ardor of youthful minds, of a nature too speculative and doctrinal for the occasion. I started the question first only upon these, and on the reperusal extended it to the whole paragraph, with the exception of two or three sentences, sufficient to declare explicitly the President's opinion in favor of maintaining the institution, to check the disposition to abolish it, should it reappear, which was manifested in Congress at their last session.

Mr. Crawford concurred with me in opinion, and observed that the remarks relating to the West Point Academy were the less necessary, as no measure was recommended to Congress in connection with them. He added that he thought there would be no attempt in Congress against the West Point Academy at the next session; that one member only, Colonel Cannon, had heretofore made efforts against it, without success.

I observed that, besides this, there had been at the last session of Congress a report of the Military Committee of the House against it, with some incorrect calculations of its expensiveness, to its disadvantage. Mr. Crawford did not remember it.

After we left the President's, Mr. Calhoun came to my office and suggested a wish that I would not press the objection that

I had opened to the paragraphs in the message concerning the West Point Academy. He said that the principle of objecting because no measure was recommended would go great lengths to expunge much the greatest part of the message, the object of which was adapted to the existing state of things; and the intention of the President was strongly to mark his opinions in support of the institutions of the country.

I said I was not tenacious of the objection, but the message was very long, and remarks of general speculation upon the difficulty of keeping young men under proper discipline did not seem to me to be there in their proper place.

He said they might be omitted. The message was very long, owing to the President's style of writing, as he was apt to dwell upon details. The whole substance of this message, for example, might be compressed into less than half the words in which he had clothed it.

I shall say no more upon the West Point speculation in the message. I see the state of Mr. Calhoun's mind, and one of my motives for the question that I made upon it was to ascertain whether he would be sensitive upon it. I am satisfied. I have a good opinion of the West Point Academy as a useful institution, and have no disposition to reduce it, to curtail the patronage of the War Department—a motive which I believe instigates those who now assail the establishment, as the patronage animates Calhoun in its defence.

27th. At half-past one attended the meeting at the President's. Present, as yesterday, Messrs. Crawford, Calhoun, and Thompson. The message was again read through by paragraphs, and various alterations were suggested. I questioned the use of the word *internal* as referring to the Conventions with France, and with Great Britain under the Russian mediation, and to the proclamation opening the ports to British vessels from the Colonies. Also the word *supervision* as applied to the Cumberland Road. The part of the message relating to the affairs of the Treasury Department was on a separate sheet, in the handwriting of Mr. Crawford. It stated the receipts of the year as having exceeded the anticipation of the last, which it does by six or seven millions. But, after

adding that the income of the year will be more than adequate to defray its expenses, it proceeds to say that, our exports having been less in value than our imports, there will be a reaction, which will occasion a deficiency of revenue in 1824, though not beyond what the excess of income in 1823 will be sufficient to cover.

I questioned the expediency of introducing either part of this prophecy. I said there was no doubt that the value of our imports this year had largely exceeded that of our exports. The exportation of specie at least eight or nine millions beyond the imports, and the rate of exchange with England from ten to fourteen per cent. against us, was decisive proof of that. But whether it would produce a reaction sufficient to occasion a deficiency of revenue in 1824 was to me too doubtful to hazard upon it a prediction, which if realized will be of no use, and if contradicted by the event would make matter for animadversion hereafter. It was looking forward two years, and although a diminution of revenue is to be expected, yet there are so many not improbable events which may produce an opposite result, that I should deem it wiser not to foretell without necessity.

Calhoun said that eight per cent. of the rate of exchange was owing to our proportional valuation of gold to silver. And he further said that although there might probably be a diminution of the revenue in 1824, it would certainly not be such as to fall short of the expenditures of the year, so as to require to be made up by the surplus of 1823.

Crawford said it was looking forward only eighteen months, as the whole receipts of the year 1824 must be secured before the 1st of July of that year; that unless a war should break out in Europe, there was no event within bounds of probability that could prevent a reaction that must make the revenue fall short. I had mentioned the contingency of scanty harvests in Europe, the increase of our trade with South America, and the annual increase of our population. He said there was no prospect of an improvement in the markets for our principal productions. The prices of cotton were continually falling, and though flour had borne during the present year a good price,

there was no prospect of its rising, but the contrary. He did not think much was to be expected from the increase of the trade to South America, and he had calculated that the increase of our own manufactures would, in the effect upon our revenue, about balance that of our population.

Mr. Calhoun observed that, notwithstanding the great importations at New York during the last year, the goods were going off so fast, and business was so brisk, that it was doubtful whether any diminution of the imports would take place.

Mr. Thompson also took up the objection to the prophecy, and Mr. Crawford finally gave it up, with a view to introduce it into his own annual report, where, I told him, I thought it would be more proper than in the message.

There was a paragraph upon the piratical States of Barbary, containing severe reflections upon the maritime powers of Europe for not suppressing the whole system. I asked whether this would not be offensive to those European powers, without answering any useful purpose—the more so as there had been no exercise of the piratical system, so called, since Lord Exmouth's attack upon Algiers. Great Britain had done something towards the suppression of the system. It had not since been practised. Would it not seem ill-timed to reproach them now with not having done more?

The President said he had introduced it in connection with our own exertions to suppress the recent piracies in the West India seas.

I remarked that the West India piracies and the Barbary system could hardly come under the same denomination. The latter was regulated by a principle—it was religious war, prescribed by the Koran, which commanded war against infidels, with the option to them of conversion or tribute.

Mr. Crawford, to whom this appeared to be new, said that the Turks acted upon no such principle; as the Porte made no such alternative a condition of peace with Christian powers.

I said no treaties could be made with them but by presents, which they doubtless consider as tribute, and if they ever made treaties of peace without them, their plea for justifying themselves was necessity—compulsion.

After some discussion, the President said he would perhaps omit the paragraph. The message had also several paragraphs relating to the Greeks, with no little invective upon the *horrible* despotism by which they are oppressed. Mr. Crawford suggested that these might give offence to the Sublime Porte. I thought it doubtful whether they would ever see the message; but he said that there were those who would take care to make them see it. Some passages of high panegyric upon ourselves were questioned; and there were two references to the opinion of the President sent to the House at their last session, upon the Constitutional power of Congress to make internal improvements, one of which I thought would be sufficient. About three hours were occupied with these deliberations, and the President will modify the message as he shall think proper, on consideration of all the remarks that were made.

28th. Note from the President calling a Cabinet meeting at half-past one. The object was to consult upon the expediency of sending the missions to South America, for which appropriations were made at the last session of Congress. There was much discussion upon this point, in the course of which Mr. Crawford came out in character with his opinion that the missions ought to be sent, but that there was less reason for sending them now than there had been when the appropriations were made last spring. Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Thompson gave no decisive opinions. Mine has invariably been that we ought to send none but in return for Ministers sent by them here. Mr. Crawford said he had understood it was determined last spring to send none except in that manner. The President said he had not so determined, but the appointments had been postponed on various considerations. I observed that those countries were yet all in a convulsive and revolutionary state. Since the last session of Congress, Yturbide had by the forms of election by a Congress, but in fact by military usurpation, made himself Emperor of Mexico, but without any of the necessary means for carrying on his Government. From the accounts we have, it is highly probable that his Government will be overthrown within a year. In the republic of Colombia, and in Peru, the Spanish party had rather gained ground this year.

There had even been a prospect of their re-occupying Lima, while, on the other hand, the patriot General San Martin appeared much disposed to react in Peru the part of Yturbide in Mexico. In Chili there had been a revolution in Government, and a Congress called to establish a Constitution. We had two very different views of these transactions presented; one favorable, by Mr. Prevost—the other much otherwise, by Jeremy Robinson; while Commodore Stewart and Mr. Hogan wrote with the utmost disgust and abhorrence of all the leaders and ruling men in that country. There had been recently a conspiracy against the present Government of Buenos Ayres, and Forbes himself, who has always favored it as the purest and most liberal that had ever been established there, now almost despairs of its being able to defend itself. From Mexico we have been informed of the appointment of two successive Ministers Plenipotentiary, with assurances that they were coming immediately; but there is no appearance of either of them yet. Since Mr. Todd has arrived in Colombia, the Vice-President, Soublette, has informed him that probably they would there prefer to continue the diplomatic intercourse with this country by Chargés d'Affaires, and the newspapers mention that there is a Mr. Barrientes who has been at the Havanna and is coming here. The only view for the appointment of Ministers Plenipotentiary to any of these States is to establish with them commercial treaties, and if they are to be appointed with that view it would be necessary to settle some principles upon which such treaties are to be formed. Mr. Crawford said they all favored the British commerce more than ours. I said there was a distinction made in Colombia, of which I had spoken to Mr. Torres before his death, who assured me he would write immediately to his Government concerning it. Mr. Todd is likewise instructed to remonstrate against it. Torres told me he had no doubt it would be immediately removed, but he died so soon afterwards, and was then so ill, that I do not know whether he did write concerning it or not. Crawford insisted that there were also discriminations to our disadvantage at Buenos Ayres; but I think he was mistaken. Crawford finally said he thought the missions ought all to be

sent, except that to Peru, which should be postponed for the present. He then launched out on the subject of Cuba, and said that the late French Minister, Hyde de Neuville, before he went away last June, had made a communication to him entirely confidential, and which must therefore now be received as confidential; which was, that the French Government knew for a certainty that the British Government had been for two years negotiating with Spain for the island of Cuba, and had offered them for it Gibraltar and a large sum of money; that there was a British Agent living at the Havanna in great splendor and with profuse expense; and he closed all by remarking what a great misfortune it would be if Great Britain should get possession of the island of Cuba.

Mr. Calhoun remarked that this story about a magnificent British Agent at the Havanna had been enquired into by several commanders of our vessels who had been there, and they had found there was nothing in it. The President mentioned the late correspondence with Duponceau, and asked if General Mason had left the papers with me. He had not. The President asked me to write to Mason and ask for them. He repeated also that he thought we ought to have an intelligent Agent at the Havanna. As Crawford has views upon this subject which the President does not appear to perceive, I said nothing about it till after the meeting had broken up, and then asked what salary he would allow to the Agent proposed to reside at the Havanna. He said not less than three thousand dollars a year. I said we could not have an avowed political Agent there, as not even a Consul is admitted, and if it were even known that we had a person as political Agent there, he would be immediately ordered out of the island. The President said it must be altogether secret. I asked him if he had in his eye any person who would at once be a trusty Agent and yet would keep the secret of his being such. Calhoun, who has a candidate always ready for everything, immediately named Colonel McRae, who he said was secret as the grave, and would, by temper, prefer concealing such an appointment to disclosing it. I observed that the secrecy of such an appointment would not depend upon the Agent alone. A military

man, going from the United States to reside at the Havanna, must have some ostensible motive for being there. Calhoun asked if he could not connect himself with some commercial establishment. The President named E. Wyer; but it was now apparent that the appointment of a political Agent to reside in the island of Cuba is a measure requiring more combinations than we are prepared for.

After the meeting was over, Calhoun spoke to me about the South American missions again. He said he had no opinion of the measure, and thought if any appointment should be made it should be with a view to commercial negotiations only, and that the Ministers appointed should be rigorously bound by instructions to take no part in the internal struggles of parties at the places to which they will be sent. He said he supposed I had seen the course that Crawford intended to take on this subject. I said I had; but I did not think he would make much of it.

30th. Mr. John W. Taylor, member of Congress from the Saratoga district, State of New York, called on me this morning and had a long conversation with me. He has been reelected to the next Congress in opposition to what they call in that State a regular nomination. In the National Advocate it has been stated that he would be a candidate for the office of Clerk of the House of Representatives; he assured me that he had not at the time had a thought of it, but asked my advice whether he should offer himself as a candidate or not. He said he inclined himself against it; he thought it would be a descent from his present station; but several members had asked him if he would be a candidate, and had promised him their votes and support if he should be—even several of his colleagues who had last year opposed his election as Speaker.

I told him I thought it was the least they could do for him, by way of reparation for what they had done. I thought with him that the situation of Clerk of the House, though very respectable, would carry less consideration than that of a member, especially of his long standing, but it was more profitable and more permanent. With regard to his personal views, I thought he could take counsel only from himself. If he con-

cluded to be a candidate, he would have my best wishes, and any services that it might be in my power to bestow. Upon public considerations I should prefer to have him remain a member of the House, believing that he would be more useful there, and that his sphere of action would be much larger than in the Clerk's office. He entered very fully into particulars with regard to his own situation, prospects, and purposes; said Mr. Clay was coming to the next Congress with the intention of making the Speaker's chair a step for his own promotion to the Presidency; as on the very probable contingency that the election would fall to the House of Representatives, his influence in the House, and the "esprit de corps" in favor of their own Speaker, would operate strongly upon the members in his favor. But, he said, he had lately seen Mr. Shaw, formerly a member of Congress from Berkshire, Massachusetts, and a very particular friend of Mr. Clay, with whom he is in correspondence, who told him that he believed there had been some understanding between Mr. Clay and me, or between our friends, who would move in concert. He said he did not wish to draw from me anything I might wish not to disclose, but his own views at present might in some sort be influenced by the knowledge of the facts.

I told him that I had no motive for concealment or hesitation with him. There was no understanding or concert between Mr. Clay and me on the subject, and never had been. When Mr. Clay left Congress, two years ago, we parted upon friendly terms, and although Mr. Clay's political course as a member of the House had not been remarkably friendly to me, I had never been unfriendly to him. As to the next Presidential election, I had no concert or understanding with any one.

He said he had been for some time convinced that there would be but one candidate from the North, for although the Vice-President was coming to take the chair of the Senate, and proclaimed his health restored, he would not be restored as a candidate. Now, on the score of qualifications and services, if the South in the present case could not be induced to vote for the Northern candidate, he considered that their acquiescence in the choice of such a candidate would be postponed indefi-

nitely. There was no reason to believe it would *ever* be obtained; because there was no reason for expecting that the claims of the North would ever stand upon more unequivocal ground. But at the last session of Congress there were numbers of the Northern men, and particularly Holmes, of Maine, who professed a very high opinion of the Northern candidate, but always insisting that there was no chance in his favor, no possibility of his being elected. He had heard during the recess of Congress frequent conversations to the same effect, and had constantly maintained the opposite opinion.

I observed that he had never before spoken to me in a manner so explicit on this subject; that I had not known what his opinions concerning it were, but that intimations had been given to me that they were favorable to Mr. Crawford, which I had not credited.

He said that his own wishes were in favor of a Northern candidate. Should it ultimately appear that the chance of election in his favor is desperate, he should perhaps incline to favor that of Mr. Crawford. He had been two years ago in favor of the reduction of the army, as he understood Mr. Crawford to have been. He knew not what my opinion had been, but had heard it was opposed to the reduction. But Mr. Calhoun had been unjust, and he would say ungrateful, to him in that transaction; for it was through his means that Mr. Calhoun's plan for the reduction had finally been adopted, in preference to that of the committee of the House.

I said that as to the reduction of the army, I had taken no part whatever in relation to it. I had inclined against it because the head of the Department immediately concerned in it had disapproved it. And as a member of the Administration, I had been governed by two general principles: one, to support to the best of my power the Administration; and the other, not to intermeddle with the Departments at the head of which other persons were placed. I believed Mr. Calhoun was now sensible he had been misadvised in preventing the election of Taylor as Speaker; but it was the prejudice raised by the Missouri slave question that had been the cause of it.

A few days only elapsed after this entry was made, when Mr. Clay came out with a remarkable demonstration, somewhat ambiguous, but scarcely significant of good will to the writer. As making a part of the history of the time, it will not be out of place here to insert the two publications drawn out from the respective parties at this time.

The letter of Mr. Clay was addressed to the editors of the National Intelligencer at Washington, and was in these words:

LEXINGTON, 16th November, 1822.

GENTLEMEN,—I have witnessed with very great regret the unhappy controversy which has arisen between two of my late colleagues at Ghent. In the course of the several publications of which it has been the occasion, and particularly in the appendix to a pamphlet which has been recently published by the Honorable John Q. Adams, I think there are some errors (no doubt unintentional) both as to matters of fact and matters of opinion, in regard to the transactions of Ghent, relating to the navigation of the Mississippi and certain liberties claimed by the United States in the fisheries, and to the part which I bore in these transactions. These important interests are now well secured, and as it respects that of the navigation of the Mississippi, left, as it ought to be, on the same firm footing with the navigation of all the other rivers of the Confederacy, the hope may be confidently cherished that it never will hereafter be deemed even a fit subject of negotiation with a foreign power. An account, therefore, of what occurred at Ghent on these two subjects is not perhaps necessary to the present or future security of any of the rights of the nation, and is only interesting as appertaining to its past history. With these impressions, and being extremely unwilling to present myself at any time before the public, I had almost resolved to remain silent, and thus expose myself to the inference of an acquiescence in the correctness of all the statements made by both my colleagues; but I have on more reflection thought that it may be expected of me, and be considered as a duty on my part, to contribute all in my power towards a full and faithful understanding of the transactions referred to. Under this con-

viction, I will at some time more propitious than the present to calm and dispassionate consideration, and when there can be no misinterpretation of motives, lay before the public a narrative of these transactions as I understand them. I will not at this time be even provoked (it would at any time be inexpressibly painful to me to find it necessary) to enter into the field of disputation with either of my late colleagues.

As to that part of the official correspondence at Ghent which has not been communicated to the public by the President of the United States prior to the last session of Congress, I certainly know of no public considerations requiring it to be withheld from general inspection. But I had no knowledge of the intentions of the Honorable Mr. Floyd to call for it, nor of the call itself, through the House of Representatives, until I saw it announced in the public prints. Nor had I any knowledge of the subsequent call which was made for the letter of the Honorable Mr. Russell, or the intention to make it, until I derived it through the same channel.

I will thank you to publish this note in the National Intelligencer, and to accept assurances of the high respect of

Your obedient servant,

H. Clay.

The reply of Mr. Adams follows:

To the Editors of the National Intelligencer.

Gentlemen,—In your paper of yesterday I have observed a note from Mr. Henry Clay which requires some notice from me.

After expressing the regret of the writer at the unhappy controversy which has arisen between two of his late colleagues at Ghent, it proceeds to say that in the course of the several publications of which it has been the occasion, and particularly in the appendix to the pamphlet recently published by me, "he thinks there are some errors (no doubt unintentional) both as to matters of fact and matters of opinion, in regard to the transactions of Ghent, relating to the navigation of the Mississippi and certain liberties claimed by the United States in the fisheries, and to the part which he bore in these transactions."

Concurring with Mr. Clay in the regret that the controversy should ever have arisen, I have only to find consolation in the reflection that from the seed-time of 1814 to the harvest of 1822 the contest was never of my seeking, and that since I have been drawn into it, whatever I have said, written, or done in it has been in the face of day and under the responsibility of my name.

Had Mr. Clay thought it advisable now to specify any error of fact or of imputed opinion which he thinks is contained in the appendix to my pamphlet, or in any other part of my share in the publication, it would have given me great pleasure to rectify by candid acknowledgment any such error, of which, by the light that he would have shed on the subject, I should have been convinced. At whatever period hereafter he shall deem the accepted time has come to publish his promised narrative, I shall, if yet living, be ready with equal cheerfulness to acknowledge indicated error and to vindicate contested truth.

But as by the adjournment of that publication to a period "more propitious than the present to calm and dispassionate consideration, and *when there can be no misinterpretation of motives*," it may chance to be postponed until both of us shall have been summoned to account for all our errors before a higher tribunal than that of our country, I feel myself now called upon to say that let the appropriate dispositions, when and how they will, expose the open day and secret night of the transactions of Ghent, the statements both of fact and opinion, in the papers which I have written and published in relation to this controversy, will in every particular, essential or important to the interest of the nation or to the character of Mr. Clay, be found to abide unshaken the test of human scrutiny of talents and of time.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

WASHINGTON, 18th December, 1822.

January 1st, 1823, *Wednesday.*—

All-gracious Parent! on my bended knee
This dawning day I consecrate to Thee,
With humble heart and fervent voice to raise
The suppliant prayer and ever-grateful praise.
To Thee the past its various blessings owes,
Its soothing pleasures, its chastising woes;
To Thee the future with imploring eye
Looks up for health, for virtue, for the sky.
Howe'er the tides of joy or sorrow roll,
Still grant me, Lord, possession of my soul,
Life's checkered scenes with steadfast mind to share,
As thou shalt doom, to gladden or to bear.
And oh, be mine, when closed this brief career,
The crown of glory's everlasting year.

2d. At the President's. Met Wirt there. Calhoun afterwards came in. I took the Anglo-Russian Slave Convention with me. Salaries of Commissioners and Arbitrators—Canning's proposals, £1500 and £1000; mine, $4444 and $3000. P. U. S. asked me to prepare the papers. I spoke of the nominations to be made. Note from Eustis, Chairman of the Military Committee of the House of Representatives of the United States, to Calhoun, Secretary of War. Two members of the committee, with consent of committee, going to examine the Rip Raps. Asks facilities for them. P. U. S. read to me the answer he had drawn up for Calhoun. Order to the commanding officer to furnish the facilities. Additional paragraphs. Hints of doubt as to the right of the committee to send members for this purpose. For impeachment—for appropriations. My idea of the alternative. The *doubt* should not be suggested. Positive ground of objection should be taken, or none. P. U. S. for the first time spoke to me of the *Radicals.* His opinion of them. S. Smith's double dealing. Maryland resolutions not published in the National Intelligencer. Gales and Seaton trimmers for the printing of Congress. John Holmes, S. U. S. from Maine, has seen P. U. S. about his resolution concerning more commercial intercourse with the existing Government of Hayti; explained it away. It was a trap for me.

5th. Met Gales this afternoon. Asked him, if he should

republish my answer to General Smyth, to publish it entire in one paper. He said they would, but doubted whether he would republish it at all unless at my wish. I told him I had no wish on the subject; they would judge for themselves.

6th. Received a note from Gales and Seaton. They will republish to-morrow my answer to General Smyth, which is entire in the Richmond Enquirer of the 4th.[1]

7th. I drafted certificates for the exchange of ratifications of the slave Convention. Evening weekly party, about a hundred. I gave Mr. Canning the drafts of certificates that I had made for consideration, and asked him to propose any alteration to them which he would prefer. He said the forms of certificates had been sent to him ready prepared, and he could not vary from them. I replied that it was a matter to be settled by agreement, in which neither party could dictate to the other. I enquired of Ellisen, the Russian Chargé d'Affaires, whether he had received forms of the certificates of the exchange. He did not know, but will call at my office at one to-morrow. I asked Canning to send me a copy to-morrow of *his* forms, and said that if we could accept them we would, and if not, and he could not vary them, we should protest against them. He said they were the *usual* forms. I told him that something beyond the usual forms would be necessary, particularly the certificate of delivery of certified copies of the Convention to Ellisen. He said he had also a form for that. I repeated that if we could accept his forms we would, but that we could not admit the right of dictation in either party. He said if false imputations were made he must repel them. I said I had nothing to do with false imputations, and abruptly left him.

About half an hour after, I was talking with Addington, his new Secretary, whom he had this evening presented to me, when he came up and began to talk upon indifferent subjects. I asked him for an explanation of what he had meant by using the words "false imputations," a language to which I was not

[1] This production was afterwards published, with other papers, by Gales and Seaton in a pamphlet with the following titles: "Letter of the Hon. John Quincy Adams in Reply to a Letter of the Hon. Alexander Smyth to his Constituents. Also, the Speech of Mr. Adams on the Louisiana Treaty, and a Letter from Mr. Jefferson to Mr. Dunbar relative to the Cession of Louisiana."

accustomed, and would be glad to have the explanation in the presence of Mr. Addington. He said I had *charged him* with saying that he would dictate to me the forms of the certificates. I denied having said any such thing. He said, "Then it is a mistake." But the tone in which he spoke was passionate. I again abruptly left him, and soon after he went away.

8th. At the office the Russian Chargé d'Affaires, Ellisen, and the British Minister, Canning, successively called, about the exchange of the ratifications of the Convention. Ellisen had a French translation of the Russian ratification, which is in the Russian language; but he had no forms for the certificate of exchange.

Canning said he would sign the certificate in the form which I had drawn up, with a slight modification, if I would also sign the certificate which had been sent out to him ready drawn, and about which he was anxious, because he was instructed to send it back. He spoke also of the agreement concerning the salaries of the Commissioners and Arbitrators, and left with me a proposition different from that I had last evening given him. As it appeared probable we could not have all our arrangements completed for the exchange to-morrow, we agreed that it should be made the day after, at one o'clock.

I called at the President's to take his directions as to the salaries of the Commissioners and Arbitrators. He proposed that the British Commissioner and Arbitrator, with the same salaries as ours, should have an allowance of five hundred pounds sterling each for the voyage hither, and the same sums for their return. He spoke of offering the appointment of Commissioner to L. Cheves, who has just resigned the office of President of the United States Bank. The President spoke also of nominating Ministers to Spain, to Mexico, Colombia, Buenos Ayres, and Chili.

9th. Received a note from the President saying that he would meet me at twelve o'clock at the Department of State. I went there accordingly before that time. I received a letter from General Alexander Smyth, asking the inspection of Mr. Brearley's printed draft of a constitution, reported to the

Federal Convention on the 12th of September, 1787. I see at once his object, which is a new device to trump up a charge before the public against me. My first impression was to send him the paper itself, requesting him to return it at his convenience, and I wrote him an answer accordingly. But, reflecting upon the insidious character, as well as the malignity, of his first attack upon me, and on the evident portion of the same ingredients in this application, I thought it not safe to trust the paper with him. I therefore wrote him that the paper would be submitted to his inspection at the office whenever it would suit his convenience to call.

The President came at noon about the appointments to Spain, Mexico, Colombia, Buenos Ayres, and Chili; to all of which he has determined to send Ministers, and Mr. Prevost as Chargé d'Affaires at Peru. He appeared desirous of sending the nomination in to the Senate to-morrow.

10th. Just before breakfast I received a note from the President, desiring me to call upon Mr. Brown, of Louisiana, and propose to him the mission to Mexico. Immediately after breakfast I called at his house, but he was already gone to the Senate. I went to the Capitol, and saw him in the Senate-chamber, from which we retired into the committee-room. I told him I was charged by the President to enquire if the mission to Mexico would be agreeable to him. He expressed his acknowledgments for the confidence manifested in the offer, which he declined; the state of society and the condition of the country being such that he could not think of taking his wife there, and he could not think of going without her.

I then told him that this was all I had in charge from the President, but, as he proposed to nominate Ministers also to Spain, to Colombia, to Buenos Ayres, and to Chili, I would ask him of my own authority whether either of them would suit him better than Mexico. He said, if any one, there would be less objection to Spain than any of the rest; the state of society being better there. But he afterwards said, no, he should prefer his situation as a Senator, twice conferred upon him without solicitation on his part, and for which he felt himself under the deepest obligations to the people of Louisiana;

though the state of his health had been such as had almost induced him, a few days since, to send in his resignation.

I reported to the President this answer, which somewhat perplexes him for the choice of a Minister to Mexico in place of Mr. Brown. He is a man peculiarly fitted for that mission, or indeed any other—a man of large fortune, respectable talents, handsome person, polished manners, and elegant deportment. The President had already promised the Spanish mission to Mr. Hugh Nelson, of Virginia. He spoke of Richard C. Anderson, of Kentucky, for Colombia, Cæsar A. Rodney, of Delaware, for Buenos Ayres, and Heman Allen, of Vermont, for Chili.

From the President's I went to the office at one; and, soon after, Mr. Canning came with Mr. Parish, and Mr. Ellisen, the Russian Chargé d'Affaires, with Baron Maltitz, and we exchanged the ratifications of the Convention signed at St. Petersburg the 12th of July last. This was the first Convention ever negotiated by the United States under a mediation, and of which the exchange was accordingly tripartite. Mr. Canning was excessively punctilious upon every point of formality; Mr. Ellisen much less so. We were employed till six o'clock before the exchange was completed. Mr. Canning had two certificates of exchange to execute, one with me and one with Mr. Ellisen. That which I had drawn up was tripartite, to be executed by all three, and each party to retain one. But after five or six copies of my draft had been made, and still Mr. Canning wanted some insignificant transposition of words, requiring new copies, which there was no longer time to make out, I gave up altogether my draft, and we merely signed a protocol in French, proposed by Mr. Ellisen, and which contained all the substance of the certificate that I had drawn up. It included, of course, an acknowledgment by Mr. Ellisen of the receipt of the certified copy of the Convention, which, by its eighth article, was to be delivered by each of the parties to the Minister or Agent of the mediating power. We compared together all the ratified copies. I held the English ratified copy, and Mr. Brent the Russian ratified copy, which we were to receive; Mr. Canning held our ratified copy, and Mr.

Parish the Russian ratified copy, which were to be delivered to Mr. Canning; and Mr. Ellisen held our ratified copy, and Baron Maltitz the British ratified copy, which were to be delivered to Mr. Ellisen; each party thus collating the two copies which it was to retain, Mr. Ironside holding at the same time the original executed treaty, transmitted by Mr. Middleton. There were several slight variations between the copies; none of any consequence. But there were three explanatory documents in French only, which in the English copies, and in ours, formed part of the ratified Convention, but in the Russian were on separate papers, not within the body of the ratification—but signed and sealed as annexed copies.

Mr. Canning took great exception to this, and insisted upon having a minute of it entered upon the protocol, as it was. I executed with Mr. Canning also the agreement for the payment of the Commissioners and Arbitrators. He accepted the modification proposed by the President, with some slight alterations. It was quite dark when I came home to dinner.

As I was coming down this morning from the Capitol, I met General Smyth, and asked him if he had received my answer to his letter asking to inspect Mr. Brearley's copy of the revised draft of a Constitution. He said he had, and would take some opportunity to call at the office and see it. I told him I should be glad to be present when he should come, and would thank him to give me notice of the time—which he said he would.

11th. When I came to my own office, I found General Alexander Smyth there, with Mr. E. B. Jackson, another member of the House of Representatives, from Virginia. They were in my room with Mr. Brent, and Mr. Smyth was inspecting Mr. Brearley's copy of the draft of a Constitution—was taking a copy of a passage in it, and writing a certificate under the copy that he made, which certificate he desired Mr. Brent to sign. The journal of the Federal Convention was published by a resolution of Congress under my direction, in the year 1819. In the section and paragraph enumerating the powers of Congress there are errors of *punctuation*—errors of the press, which had escaped my attention. Mr. Smyth now came with the intention of trumping up a charge against me of having

intentionally falsified that publication, by introducing a false *punctuation.* Smyth was comparing Brearley's printed draft with the copy of it printed in the journal of the Convention, and eagerly seeking for variations between them. He found on Brearley's paper a manuscript minute, "Brought into the Convention 13th of September, 1787." "The book says on the 12th," said Smyth, and, charmed with his imaginary detection of a new blunder, wrote his certificate for Brent to sign, that it was a true copy from the Constitution reported on the 13th of September, showing the punctuation, obliteration, and amendments. He had written the copy in two different hands, one, it seems, intended to represent the printed, and the other the manuscript part of the copy.

Mr. Brent showed me the certificate, asking if he should sign it. I said the certificate, as written, was not correct. Smyth said, "It's not true. It is correct." I said the certificate purported to show the punctuation, obliteration, and amendments, but did not specify what part was in print and what part in manuscript. It also stated the Constitution to have been reported on the 13th, while the journal showed that it had been reported on the 12th of September. He said he had taken the date from what was written on the Brearley paper itself. I then showed by the journal that the report had been made on the 12th, and ordered to be printed for the use of the members, so that Brearley's manuscript minute, "Brought into the Convention 13th September," had reference to the printed paper, and not to the report itself, which had been brought in the day before.

Smyth then struck out of his projected certificate the 13th and inserted 12th; but I still objected that as the copy did not specify what part was print and what part manuscript, it was not fair for comparison with the printed journal of the Convention, which professedly gave only the printed part of Brearley's paper.

Smyth then cut off his proposed certificate from his copy and threw the certificate away. I immediately picked it up, and asked him to let me have the copy itself—which he refused. He said he meant to keep that himself. I might

have a fac-simile of it. A fac-simile of the paper was what he wanted.

I then said that the book had not been printed from the printed paper, but from a copy of it made at this office, and which had been returned to it from the printers, and was still in the office. Smyth said he had what he wanted—the copy from the original paper.

I then said I was ready to explain any variation which there might be between the original paper and the printed book, and, turning to Jackson, I desired him to notice that Smyth had refused to let me have the copy which he had made; adding that I might perhaps be under a necessity of requiring his testimony hereafter.

This at length brought Smyth to; Jackson having repeated to him that I had said I should perhaps hereafter need his testimony. I then showed to Jackson the copy of Brearley's paper, which was sent to the printers at Boston, and from which the book was printed. In this copy the punctuation was not precisely the same as in Brearley's printed paper, from which it was copied, but it was the same at the passage upon which Smyth wished to fix the charge of falsification. Jackson asked how it was in the copy of the Constitution printed in the first volume of Bioren's edition of the laws, published under direction of Mr. Monroe when Secretary of State, and Mr. Rush, Attorney-General. Smyth said there were some differences of punctuation in that. I sent for the original roll of the Constitution itself, and for a copy printed from it in 1820 by my direction and then collated with the roll. The punctuation in no two of the copies was exactly the same. But the proof was complete that, in the only passage at which the punctuation could affect the sense, the copy made at the office and sent to Boston to be printed agreed precisely with the original printed paper of Mr. Brearley.

After a long and pertinacious examination of all the papers, which were taken for the purpose from my chamber into that of Mr. Brent, Smyth declared himself satisfied that he had been mistaken in his suspicions, and that the error of punctuation in the volume of the journal of the Convention, consisting

in the substitution of a colon for a semicolon—: instead of ;—and a capital *T* instead of a small *t*, was not a deliberate and wilful forgery of mine to falsify the Constitution and vest absolute and arbitrary powers in Congress, but a mere error of the press. He took, however, a certified copy from Mr. Brent of the passage as printed in Brearley's paper, with the punctuation, obliteration, and manuscript interlineations.

Smyth had published in the National Intelligencer of this morning a long reply, addressed to his constituents, to my answer to his first charges—a renewed attack upon my father—a panegyric upon Thomas Paine—a new selection of votes of mine while I was a member of the Senate—and a dissertation against hereditary honors. But, mistrusting the effect of all this, he came to my office high charged with this project of arraigning me before the public for falsification of public papers—and this conspiracy of colons and capital letters would have formed a new impeachment of me before the nation, had he not found me ready to meet him with irrefragable proof against his infamous imputation, and had not his own colleague, whom he had brought with him for testimony, signified to him that he could not sanction his suspicions nor support him against the evidence that I produced.

This inquisitorial screw lasted at least four hours. That Providence, without which not a sparrow falleth to the ground, had preserved the papers from which the book was printed, and preserved to me the means of complete justification.

Mr. Canning also came, and conversed with me chiefly about the commercial intercourse with the British Colonies and our discriminating duties, upon which he said he must write me a note to ask me a yes or a no. I asked him if he had any instructions from his Government concerning it. He said he had not. General Cocke, of Tennessee, came, and, upon being informed I was engaged with other persons, complained, as Mr. Maury told me, that he could not obtain access to me, and refused to wait in the audience-chamber till he could see me.

12th. I went to Dowson's and saw Mr. Macon. In making the appointments to these South American missions, the President wishes to distribute them to citizens of the different parts

of the Union. He wished particularly to take some distinguished notice of North Carolina. It happens that the weight of talents in that State is with the Federalists, so that the politics counteract the geography. Among the persons recommended to the President was John Lewis Taylor, now Chief Justice of the State; and the President had requested me to call upon Mr. Macon and make enquiries concerning him. Last evening I received a note from the President saying it would be proper in these enquiries to ascertain if Mr. Taylor is of the Republican party. I made, therefore, that enquiry among the others. Mr. Macon spoke of Mr. Taylor as of a man of accomplished manners, but said nothing of any more elevated qualifications, and as to his politics, he had understood him to be among the warmest Federalists in the State. But he added that politics had never been so hostile between the parties in North Carolina as in either of its neighboring States of South Carolina or of Virginia, and that Mr. Taylor had been elected to the office of Chief Justice of the State by a Legislature of different politics from his own.

On returning home I found a note from the President requesting me to call at his house this day to confer with him on the proposed nominations of Ministers. I went to him immediately, and found him very anxious to make the nominations. I reported to him what Mr. Macon had said of Mr. Taylor, upon which he said it would not do to nominate him. He added that it had been a great object of his Administration to conciliate the people of this Union towards one another and to mitigate the asperities of party spirit. But in effecting this he was obliged to consider how far he could yield to his own dispositions without losing the confidence of his own party. He would go as far as the public sentiment would support him; but to overstep that boundary would be to defeat his own object. He had concluded to nominate Hugh Nelson, of Virginia, to Spain, and Richard C. Anderson, of Kentucky, to Colombia, and C. A. Rodney to Buenos Ayres. For Mexico and Chili he was yet undetermined.

I mentioned to him General Jackson for Mexico, and John Holmes, of Maine, for Chili. He received favorably the name

of Jackson, but doubted whether he would accept, and made some question whether his quickness and violence of temper might not, in the opinion of a great part of the nation, make the expediency of his appointment questionable.

I said that although the language of General Jackson was sometimes too impassioned and violent, his conduct had always appeared to me calm and deliberate. Acting under responsibility, I did not apprehend he would do anything to the injury of his country, and even if he should commit any indiscretion, he would bear the penalty of it himself, for the nation would not support him in it. There was another difficulty, which I thought more serious. He had been unanimously nominated by the members of the Legislature of Tennessee as a candidate for the Presidential election. To send him on a mission abroad would be attributed by some, perhaps, to a wish to get him out of the way. The President said there was something in that. As to Holmes, he said, his conduct in the Senate had not been friendly to the Administration; of which I was well aware, as I was that his dispositions were far otherwise than friendly to me. But I considered him as perhaps the ablest man in the delegations from New England, and highly qualified for the public service. I believed also that he would faithfully discharge the duties of any public service abroad. The President took further time to consider of the subject.

Here is another gap in the record, spreading over more than two months. It is to be regretted that it should have happened just when the course of events must have made it of growing interest. The early movement respecting the succession to the Presidency has already been shown in these pages. The friends of Mr. Adams were numerous and influential in the Northern Atlantic States, but they lacked organization, and complained of his indifference, as well as his neglect to use certain means of advancing his cause, resorted to with little hesitation by most politicians in place who are ambitious of higher promotion. Evidence of this has appeared often in these pages, particularly in the dinner-table conversation[1] re-

[1] Vol. v. p. 297.

ported on the 25th of February, between him and his friend Mr. Joseph Hopkinson, of Philadelphia. But it was more fully developed in the summer of 1822, when Mrs. Adams, who had formed pleasant social relations with the family of that gentleman, accepted a friendly invitation to spend some time with them at a country-place they then occupied on the banks of the Delaware, at Bordentown, New Jersey. It would appear that during this sojourn Mr. Hopkinson availed himself of an opportunity to communicate to her certain views of this tendency of her husband, which might be received by him through that channel with less hazard of giving offence. It naturally followed that what was then said in a quiet conversation on a certain evening might be, after some interval, committed to paper and addressed to her, after she got home, in the form of a confidential letter, which she might show to Mr. Adams if she chose. It has been thought not inappropriate to the purpose of this publication to insert here the substance of that letter.

Joseph Hopkinson to Mrs. Adams.

Now we are speaking of Bordentown, let me beg you to consider for a moment that you and I are sitting, with or without a bright moon, as you please, on the piazza looking into the garden, in familiar chat. In such circumstances we may say many things which it would be by no means proper to write to the second lady of the republic, "that shall be first hereafter." I proceed thus:

I think our friend Mr. A. is too fastidious and reserved on a certain subject, as interesting to the country as to himself; and in relation to which his friends and the country have a right to a certain degree of co-operation from him. His conduct seems to me, as it does to others, to be calculated to chill and depress the kind feeling and fair exertions of his friends. They are discouraged when they see a total indifference assumed on his part; and the matter is not made better by the suggestion that it is impossible he can be really indifferent to the event, but has too much pride and honesty to interfere in directing it. We answer that we do not desire Mr. A. should lend himself or his name to any system of petty intrigue or degrading

machinations, either to injure his competitors or advance his own pretensions. We would not have him make corrupt bargains, or write or procure to be written skulking letters or addresses. But, on the other hand, there is a just and honorable support and countenance he may give to his cause and to those who maintain it, perfectly consistent with the purest pride and delicacy, and of which none would complain. He might communicate much information to be usefully employed in repelling attacks upon him, or in exhibiting his claims to advantage; but he seems to disdain any champion but himself, and to say and do nothing for himself until forced into the field by the malice or folly of some enemy. I may indeed say that he is not merely neutral on this subject, but rather shows a disposition to discourage any efforts in his behalf.

Now, my dear madam, all this won't do. The Macbeth policy —"if chance will make me king, why chance may crown me" —will not answer where little is left to chance or merit, but kings are made by politicians and newspapers; and the man who sits down waiting to be crowned, either by chance or just right, will go bareheaded all his life. I do not mean that the world is more stupid or unjust than formerly, but we work with different instruments, and they must be used and resorted to as well to maintain a just right as to give color to unfounded and impudent claims and pretensions.

Now, there is our friend W.,[1] with warm dispositions and great ability to be useful on this occasion. His journal is daily gaining a decided influence and ascendency; its circulation is spreading; everywhere it is read with increasing avidity, and he has surprising skill in working up his materials. But I believe he thinks Mr. A. has rather shown a disposition to check and discourage his exertions in this cause. It is an ungracious and weary task to serve another against his will, and no zeal and devotion can continue it long.

But my speech is quite long enough for a piazza chat, and I wait for your reply. The children say "turn about is fair play," especially in conversation, which otherwise is turned into haranguing.

[1] Robert Walsh, at this time the editor of the National Gazette, at Philadelphia.

P. S.—You will understand I would not dare to say or write half of the above to Mr. A., but you may do what you please with it.

This letter having been laid before Mr. Adams, drew forth the following paper in reply:

23d January, 1823.

THE MACBETH POLICY.

An ingenious commentator upon Shakspeare, in a conversation by moonlight on the piazza, observes that the Macbeth policy, "If chance will have me king, why chance may crown me," will *not* answer.

A friend who happened, at the moment when this observation was made, to join in the conversation, and who sometimes studies the tragedy of Macbeth, with a view to the first and highest purposes of the drama, to purify his own heart by the passions of pity and terror, enquires whether this quotation,

> "If chance will have me king, why chance may crown me
> Without my stir,"

can with propriety be denominated the Macbeth policy, and whether it is not rather a remnant of virtue yet struggling in the breast of that victim of unhallowed ambition against the horrible imaginings of that policy by which he finally wins the crown and loses his life and his soul.

As a test to the enquiry, let us suppose that Macbeth had adhered to what you call his policy, and waited for chance to crown him. You say he never would have been king. True. And of course no tragedy. The Macbeth policy is quite a different thing, and your quotation is an answer to your argument.

But in the application of the sentiment to present times and future events, ought we not to remark that kings and crowns and chance are all out of the question? *Detur digniori* is the inscription upon the prize, and the *choice* of ten millions of people by their delegated agents must award it.

No, say you, little is left to chance or merit. The prize is

awarded by politicians and newspapers; and the man who sits down waiting for it, by chance or just right, will go bareheaded all his life.

Here we come to the point. The principle of the Constitution in its purity is, that the duty shall be assigned to the most able and the most worthy. Politicians and newspapers may bestir themselves to point out who that is; and the only question between us is, whether it be consistent with the duties of a citizen who is supposed to desire that the choice should fall upon himself to assist, countenance, and encourage those who are disposed to befriend him in the pursuit.

The law of friendship is a reciprocation of good offices. He who asks or accepts the offer of friendly service contracts the obligation of meeting it with a suitable return. He who asks or accepts the offer of aid to promote his own views necessarily binds himself to promote the views of him from whom he receives it. Whatever may be the wishes of an individual, nothing but the unbiassed view of many others can make him even a candidate for the Chief Magistracy. If he asks or accepts the aid of one, he must ask or accept the aid of multitudes. Between the principle, of which much has been said in the newspapers, that a President of the United States must remember those to whom he owes his elevation, and the principle of accepting no aid on the score of friendship or personal kindness to him, there is no alternative. The former, as it has been announced and urged, I deem to be essentially and vitally corrupt. The latter is the only principle to which no exception can be taken.

If, therefore, I have checked and discouraged the exertions of Mr. W. in this cause, it has not been from insensibility either to his kindness, or to his talents, or to his influence; I have been unwilling that from motives of personal kindness to me he should take trouble, incur hazards, and expose himself, and perhaps his interests, to dangers which it will probably never be in my power to reward. The rule which I have been compelled to apply to Mr. W. I have been equally obliged to apply to others. He has never intimated to me the wish or expectation of return. Others are less delicate. But *I* am to look not

merely to what he would expect, but to what I am bound to think due to an accepted offer.

I do not deceive myself as to the consequences of this principle upon the issue of the approaching election. I know that all are not equally scrupulous, and I remember the connection between the vox pro republicâ honesta, ipsi anceps, "legi a se militem, non emi," and the fate of Galba. But in the situation where it has pleased Providence to place me, my first and most anxious desire is to discharge all my duties. The only way that I can fulfil these to my country is by services. Those of friendship can be performed only by forbearing to ask or accept services importing personal sacrifices and hazards which it may never be in my power to requite.

Mr. W. is at liberty to pursue in his editorial capacity, with regard to the Presidential election, that line which his opinions of the public interest and the sense of his own duty to the country will dictate. If he thinks it immaterial upon which of the candidates the choice should settle, perhaps his wisest course would be a guarded neutrality, rendering justice to all, and dispensing censure and approbation according to the convictions of his own judgment. If upon public considerations he has made up his mind to support one candidate, it is yet more congenial to his own spirit of independence and to that of the candidate whom he may favor that this support should be given free and unshackled on both sides, than as an offer made to the candidate for *his* benefit, and as such accepted by him.

In all my correspondence with Mr. W. hitherto, I have considered this as a point upon which he had not come to a definite determination. He had so intimated or declared in an editorial article of his paper; and the character of his remarks upon every occasion on which he had noticed me as before the public, though not unfriendly in the main, and always doing justice to my intentions, had never struck me as manifesting partiality of any kind in my favor, nor assuredly as indicating a preference of me as a possible candidate for the Presidency hereafter. My last letter to him was of the 27th of November last; and whatever was said in that to check or discourage exertions on his part in my favor, was said either with reference to *his*

personal interest, and as a return of friendship and confidence to him, or in answer to observations which he had made in a private letter to me on certain *grounds* of support to me which he had recently appeared to take in his paper, and of the nature and effect of which he had seemed to wish for my opinion. I considered the fact as very uncertain whether even New England would unitedly offer me as a candidate, and I doubted the correctness of the principle upon which it was supposed I should be supported by that section of the Union and opposed by another. Let us have sectional sympathies, if you please; but let us distrust even them; and let us indulge no sectional antipathies. Expose them where they operate, but set not one prejudice in array against another.

When I said that Mr. W. had indicated in his editorial capacity no decided preference for me as a probable candidate for the Presidency, I spoke with reference to the time when the last letters between him and me were written. Since then he has spoken more distinctly; and if I am to consider him as wishing to support me for a candidate with his editorial influence, I would beg to offer him the following advice:

First, to wait till it shall be ascertained whether I am to be a candidate at all. Great exertions have for years been systematically making to exclude me from that position altogether. I have done and shall do nothing to place myself in it. Persecuted by calumny in its basest and most insidious forms, I have more than once defended myself in the face of the nation; whether successfully or not, the nation and posterity are to judge. But surely to parry the daggers of assassins is not to canvass votes for the Presidency. In no part of the Union, not even in my native New England, has there been an unequivocal manifestation of a public sentiment disposed to hold me up as a candidate. If that feeling does not exist, and in a force which no effort of intrigue can suppress or restrain, it would be a useless, and perhaps worse than useless, thing for a few personal friends of mine to attempt to produce it. The opinion has gone abroad throughout the Union that I shall have *no* support. I have no decisive evidence that the voice of the people in any quarter of it is in my favor. The Richmond Enquirer, the

leading paper of the Presidential canvass, pronounced me, eight months ago, *hors de combat.* And although it has since admitted that it might possibly be otherwise, it allows me no partisans but those who think I had been wronged in the diplomatic feud. In Massachusetts I am no favorite of the (federal) majority. In the rest of New England the Republicans are lukewarm and distrustful of success. My career has attached no party to me precisely because it has been independent of all party. "All rising to great place," says Lord Bacon, "is by a winding-stair; and if there be factions, it is good to side a man's self whilst he is in the rising, and to balance himself when he is placed." I have neither ascended by the winding-stair nor sided myself in the rising; and the consequence has been that all parties disown me—the Federalists as a deserter, the Democrats as an apostate. I have followed the convictions of my own mind with a single eye to the interests of the whole nation; and if I have no claims to the suffrages of the whole nation, I have certainly none to those of either party. This independence of party will always in warm, factious times be mistaken and misrepresented by common politicians for unsteadiness of principle; and the man who acts upon it must make his account to stand or fall on broader grounds than lie within the bounds of a geographical subdivision, and with other props than political sectarianism or individual intrigue. If your watch has no main-spring, you will not keep time by turning round the minute-hand. If I cannot move the mass, I do not wish to trifle with the indicator. Against me I have in every section the passions and prejudices peculiar to its own situation and circumstances, and everywhere party spirit, wielded by personal rivals and adversaries, and working by misrepresentation and slander.

With all these weights bearing me down, where is the buoyant principle that is to bring me up? Is it for me to say, My talents and services? And what else can be said by any of my friends? My wishes are out of the question. If I am to be a candidate, it must be by the wishes, ardent and active, of others, and not by mine. Let Mr. W. then first wait for proof that there is a strong public interest in my favor.

Secondly, if this point should be ascertained beyond all question, and Mr. W. should think proper to take an active part in promoting the election, whatever information he may desire he can obtain either by direct communication with me or from my friends, with whom he is also in relations of friendship.

Thirdly, if his disposition be to befriend me, and the influence of newspapers be as powerful as you suggest, would it not be advisable to observe the course of other newspapers, and endeavor to harmonize, or at least not to conflict, with those which appear disposed to support the same cause?

With this explanation, I hope Mr. W. will be satisfied that any coolness with which I may have received his proffers and dispositions of kindness has been the result of a real kindness to himself, as well as of rigid principle. If my countrymen prefer others to me, I must not repine at their choice. Indifference at the heart is not to be won by wooing. The services that have no tongue to speak for themselves would be ill aided by the loudest trumpet. Merit and just right in this country will be heard. And in any case, if they are not heard "without my stir," I shall acquiesce in the conclusion that it is because they do not exist.

The diary recommences on the 2d of June. The next few pages are taken from what appear to be minutes of important events, to refresh recollection in case the writer should be able to find some later time to write out the particulars—which he never did.

March 14th. Cabinet meeting. Calhoun and Thompson present; Crawford absent, unwell, and Wirt engaged in Supreme Court. War between France and Spain. What to be done? Agent in Cuba, Hernandez; P. U. S. to see him. Calhoun's anxiety. Information to be obtained. Consistency with what we have done to be observed. Fears of what England may do. Prospects of Spain. Danger of treachery.

15th. The Baron Maltitz was at my house, to announce the arrival of Baron Tuyl, the Russian Envoy at New York. Expects him here next week. Cabinet meeting at two; Calhoun

and Thompson only present. Cuba. P. U. S. has seen Hernandez, who is going to the Havanna; not as Agent; what to do? Calhoun for war with England, *if* she means to take Cuba. Thompson for urging the Cubans to declare themselves independent, *if* they can maintain their independence. I assume for granted that they *cannot* maintain their independence, and that this nation will not, and could not, prevent by war the British from obtaining possession of Cuba, if they attempt to take it. The debate almost warm. Talk of calling Congress, which I thought absurd. Memorandum—to be cool on this subject.

17th. Note from P. U. S. At the office. R. S. Coxe, with many recommendations, to be appointed Agent under the slave Commission. Wirt, to suggest G. Hay for the same appointment. Hernandez, going to the Havanna. The Spanish documents at St. Augustine. He read the pamphlet from Cuba. Burt, about his inventions and projects. Clay, to take leave; going to Philadelphia (and to New York). Wants a special Supreme Court U. S. to try the Kentucky cause over again; thinks all the present Judges but one superannuated. Salvo for the Chief Justice.

European politics—Spain. Cabinet meeting. Calhoun, Thompson, Wirt, present; Crawford absent, unwell. Cuba. Meade's information about Anduaga's report to his Government against H. Nelson.[1] A letter from one Ross to Thompson. British projects upon Cuba. P. U. S. proposes to offer to G. Britain a mutual promise not to take Cuba. Objections by Calhoun and me. Thompson inclines to it. Wirt unprepared for an opinion. Calhoun thinks nothing can be obtained by it. I suppose the answer would be a proposal of quantity to Spain, and that we should plunge into the whirlpool of European politics. No conclusion.

27th. Canning read me three notes—Duke of Wellington to Montmorency, offering mediation of Great Britain between France and Spain; Montmorency's answer declining the mediation; and G. Canning's reply to it, addressed to the Chargé d'Affaires of France. Expressed my gratification at the substance of this correspondence. Spoke something of the slave-

[1] Hugh Nelson, of Virginia, the new Minister to Spain.

trade note, of the slave indemnity note, and of the Colonial trade navigation. Canning earnest about them all.

April 2d. At the office a Captain B. Turner came, with a claim for having brought home ninety-six seamen prisoners from Jamaica during the late war. Cabinet meeting; full. Agent to Cuba. Calhoun for a war to prevent Great Britain from taking Cuba *if* the islanders are united against it.

8th. At the office. President there. His note directing me to write to H. Nelson to go to Norfolk and embark immediately in the Hornet for Spain; to counteract Anduaga's misrepresentations. Dispatches from R. Rush, 20th February, and speculations. President says G. W. Erving wishes to go to France, and to have some *authority* as substitute in Mr. Gallatin's absence; thinks he cannot be gratified.

9th. I was occupied in preparing the draft of H. Nelson's instructions; to answer Anduaga's invective. At Secretary of the Navy's Office, enquiring for several papers, some of which were furnished me; to wait for others. Note from the President to write to A. Gallatin, advising him to stay in the crisis.

June 2d. Mr. Canning came, and stayed till I was called to dinner; coming again to-morrow; spoke of the appointment of an Arbitrator for the question under the fifth article of the Treaty of Ghent; urges the nomination of an umpire, but names none; means the King of the Netherlands.

I mentioned the instructions preparing for Mr. Rush; the Colonial trade intercourse; suppression of the slave-trade; the Ghent article; the Russian Ukase about the Northwest coast; the controversial points of maritime law; Cuba pirates, South America, and the European alliance.

Asks about the average for the slave indemnity. I know not how to make it up. Much conversation upon the Colonial intercourse; extreme dissatisfaction of the English merchants here at our retaining the discriminating duties. Suppose the Order in Council prohibiting the intercourse should issue, what would be the condition of the trade?

4th. Mr. Canning; at least three hours of conversation with him. Went over all the subjects of the negotiation to be pro-

posed to the British Government—Colonial intercourse; suppression of the slave-trade; the Ghent Commission; Boundary; Maritime law questions; South America, and the Russian Northwest Coast Ukase. He pressed for the nomination of an Arbitrator.

I named the Emperor of Russia, to which he was not inclined to accede. Told him the King of the Netherlands was his King's cousin. Proposed to agree upon a line by compromise. His scruple. State rights—Maine, Massachusetts, Vermont, New York. Mode in which the arbitration must be conducted. Impossible for any sovereign to examine the question personally. Told him I was answering his slave-trade letter, and *how*. He said he should have some *fun*. Would take six months to rejoin. It would all come to nothing. Spoke of the piracy project. I asked him what had been done by the allies at Verona about it. He did not know. Mentioned the rolled and hammered iron affair. McLane and the committee were unanimous, he said, for removing the inequality. I asked him why, then, they did not report. Told him I had spoken to Newton, who was against it. He spoke resentfully of Newton. Complained of delay by me—unreasonably. On the search at sea, he said that Gorham, Mercer, and Hemphill were for it; but I had frightened Hemphill out of his wits by telling him it would surrender the flag. This conversation was altogether desultory—excessively guarded, as usual, on his part, and somewhat *provocative* on mine; purposely, because nothing is to be got from him but by provoking him.

5th. Met, at the Oratorio at the Unitarian Church, C. F. Mercer; came here for the Colonization Society's meeting. Talk about the slave-trade. Says he could have carried by a large majority the resolution at the end of his report. All the speakers of the House, except some of the Virginians, were for it—Gorham, Hemphill, Sergeant, Colden, Cannon, Cocke, Hamilton, of South Carolina, Mitchell, of South Carolina, all for it. This list is very remarkable, and I thank Mercer for it. A union of Crawfordites, federalists, Clintonians, and Lowndesians turned Calhounites, would have had something else in view besides the slave-trade in that vote. It is a warning to me to persevere.

Mercer said that Wright could not be kept in, and so proposed to put up a portrait of Lord Castlereagh in the hall of the House of Representatives. That would not do. He said, too, he hoped we should not *quiz* the English Government about the Irish piracy, but propose it to them seriously, though he had no idea of ever executing the Act. He agreed with me that we should never *hang* any man under it. I told him we were treating of it with the British Government very gravely.

6th. Cabinet meeting at one. All present. My instructions to R. Rush on the Colonial intercourse considered. No objection to them, except to one assertion in two places, noticed by Crawford, as not exactly correct, though, he said, it was of no importance. Very little was said of it, though Crawford said it was exactly conformable to the Act of Congress. Some question as to the comparative number of British and American vessels now concerned in the trade. Crawford said he could send me the statement of them for the first six months since the opening of the trade.

Then came the question about the reference to a friendly sovereign of the difference between the Commissioners under the fifth article of the Treaty of Ghent. It was determined I should name the Emperor of Russia, if a nomination should be insisted on; but if they agree to negotiate, we are not ready to mark a line. There was much talk about the northwest angle of Nova Scotia and the northwesternmost head of Connecticut River, upon both which points the Commissioners differ. There was no result from all this. The meeting broke up about four.

9th. I received a message from the President requesting me to call immediately at his house. Found Mr. Crawford and Mr. Thompson, Secretary of the Navy, there. Crawford had a private letter from J. Forsyth, who has arrived at New York. Mr. H. Nelson, upon hearing this, went from Wilmington to New York to see him. Forsyth, on being informed that Rodney, Minister to Buenos Ayres, was going out in the same frigate with Nelson, told Nelson that this incident would procure him, at least, a very cool reception in Spain. I had been so sensible of the danger of this that I had insisted the frigate should not

go to Cadiz, but to Gibraltar, and land Mr. Nelson there. Forsyth thought this would not mend the matter, but urged Nelson to land at Madeira, and find his way as well as he could thence to Spain; or not to go in the frigate at all, but to embark and go to Spain in a merchant vessel.

All this Mr. Forsyth wrote to Mr. Crawford, and it had made the President uneasy. I told him that I had thought it would have been better if Mr. Nelson and Mr. Rodney had gone in different vessels, and that I had, even while he was in Virginia, instructed Mr. Nelson to go to Gibraltar. But, as Mr. Rodney would not go within the Spanish jurisdiction, I did not think the affair of importance enough to break up Mr. Nelson's voyage, or to change it to Madeira; either of which would rather draw more public attention to an incident unimportant in itself and which may otherwise pass unnoticed. He concluded to take no further order concerning it.

10th. Received a note from Mr. Salazar announcing his arrival in the city with a commission as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the republic of Colombia, and asking an interview. I appointed three o'clock to receive him at the office of the Department of State. He came, and delivered to me a letter from Don Pedro Gual, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the republic of Colombia, and a copy of a credential letter from the Vice-President of the republic, acting Executive, and addressed to the President of the United States. Mr. Leandro Palacios came with him, and brought a commission as Consul-General of the republic in the United States. I told Mr. Salazar I would take the President's directions as to the time when he would receive him. Salazar speaks a very little English, and a little more French. He told me he was a literary man, and had read some of my writings. His Secretary, Mr. Gomez, he has left unwell at Philadelphia; also his wife and child.

Mr. Canning came, and had an hour's conversation with me. Showed him R. Rush's dispatch of 7th April, 1822. Average for the slaves. I called at the President's, and mentioned Salazar's request of an audience. He appointed the day after to-morrow, at one, to receive his credentials.

11th. Began a draft of an instruction to R. Rush upon the Northern boundary and the disagreement of the Commissioners under the fifth article of the Treaty of Ghent. Note to Mr. Salazar informing him that the President would receive his credential letter to-morrow. Baron Tuyl at the office. He has a packet to send to Count Lieven. And he reminded me of my promise about a newspaper paragraph concerning the Northwest Coast negotiation. Kankey came, and I dispatched him with a certificate as Consular Commercial Agent at Barbadoes, and instructions. He is to sail from Georgetown to-morrow.

Mr. Crawford sent to ask me to call at the Treasury Office, which I did. It was to object to drafts upon the Treasury payable to Mr. Maury, as Agent for disbursements of the State Department, which, under the law of the last session of Congress, he said, could only be paid as advances and by express direction of the President in every particular case. He said also it was an innovation, excepting as to the contingent expenses of foreign intercourse. But the innovation consists only in this, that now a regular account of all the other disbursements under the direction of the Department of State is kept at the Department itself as well as at the Treasury, while the disbursements were formerly made, and no account of them kept, but at the Treasury. The draft to which Mr. Crawford now took exception was upon the appropriation of a hundred thousand dollars for carrying into execution the late treaty with Spain, placed by the law at the disposal of the President, and by written direction from him charged to the care of the Department of State. Crawford asked why it would not have been better to have left it to the Treasury. I said because a great portion of the expenditures being discretionary they could not pass, according to the ordinary rules of settlement at the Treasury; but that if the Treasury officers would pass them I should be glad to transfer them all over. I added that, however preferable a different course might have been, that was the course which had been adopted. With regard to the expenditures under the Treaty Commissions, I saw no reason why they should not be transferred entirely to

the Treasury, and I would direct Mr. Maury to close all those accounts, and refer all future claimants upon them to the Treasury. Mr. Crawford said he would obtain the President's order for the warrant which was required yesterday upon the Florida Treaty appropriation.

12th. At one o'clock I attended at the President's, and there presented to him Don Ignacio Maria Salazar, as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the republic of Colombia, Mr. Leandro Palacios, and a youth named Valenilla. After the presentation, and some short indifferent conversation, Mr. Salazar said to the President, "Sir, as I know that the Secretary of State perfectly understands Spanish, and will explain to you what I shall say, if you will permit me, I will make you a speech in my own language;" and then proceeded immediately to deliver in oratorical style a speech about ten minutes long; which he concluded in the professional manner with, "I have said."

I then observed that he had given me credit quite undeserved in supposing me master of the Spanish language, of which I had scarcely any knowledge whatever. But I interpreted as much of the speech as I had understood, and Salazar himself said it was in substance correct.

The President answered him with friendly assurances, reviewing the course of policy observed by the United States with regard to the independence of Spanish America, which had always been as favorable as was consistent with their neutrality. He referred to their acknowledgment of the independence of Colombia, and to the instructions which had been given to all the Ministers of the United States in Europe for promoting as much as possible the same acknowledgment by the European powers.

As Mr. Salazar withdrew, I mentioned to him the list of his delegation to be sent by him to the Department of State. Soon after I returned to the office Dr. Thornton came, and said Mr. Salazar would publish in the newspapers his speech to the President, and would be glad to have his answer to publish with it. He brought a copy and translation of the speech, and said Mr. Salazar had assured him the effect in Colombia of the

publication of the President's answer would be very great indeed.

I took the papers, and promised to show them to the President to-morrow, and to refer to him the request for a copy of his answer.

13th. Mr. Salazar and Mr. Palacios came to the office, and had before called upon the President, who received them. They had spoken to him about the printing of Salazar's speech to him, and of his answer. I took the copy and translation of the speech to the President, who hesitated as to the propriety of his authorizing anything that he said in answer to be published.

I mentioned to him the precedent in the speech of the French Minister Adet to President Washington, and his answer. I noticed also the publication by Mr. Onis of his speech to President Madison on being received by him; but in that case the President's answer was not published.

Mr. Calhoun came in, and, on being consulted, thought the answer of President Washington to Adet was a precedent which might be safely followed now.

14th. Dr. Thornton came again upon the subject of the publication of Mr. Salazar's speech and the President's answer. He said he had mentioned to Mr. Salazar that it was not usual here, and there might be some objection to it on that account. He said that Mr. Salazar had then read to him a passage from his instructions, in which he was directed to publish in the newspapers the speech that he should make upon his reception.

I observed to the Doctor that in all this we were sure there was no ill intention; but the instruction itself to a Minister going to a foreign Government, to publish in the country of that Government any part of his correspondence with them, was exceptionable. Mr. Salazar might have been instructed to send to his own Government a copy of his speech, and they, if they saw fit, might have published it; but an instruction to him to publish in the newspapers of this country might lead to unpleasant results.

I called at the President's, and he drew, upon advisement with me, a short paragraph, stating in general terms the sub-

stance of his answer, which he authorized me to give to Mr. Salazar for publication. The President thought that Dr. Gual, now Minister of Foreign Affairs to the republic of Colombia, retained a feeling of acrimonious resentment for the defeat of his Amelia Island project, and infused some of his animosity into his instructions; but he said he did not believe Mr. Salazar partook at all of that feeling. He seemed a fair and candid man, altogether friendly to this country.

I returned Mr. Salazar's visit at Brown's Hotel, and left a card for Mr. Palacios. I gave back to Mr. Salazar the copy and translation of his speech, and the paragraph containing the substance of the President's answer. We had some conversation upon the Constitution of the republic of Colombia, in which he expressed strong opinions against a federal Government as inapplicable to that country; and of the liberty of the press as dangerous in the present state of things.

Baron Tuyl came to the office, and communicated in confidence that he had received a dispatch from Count Lieven, the Russian Ambassador in England. It announces the decided stand taken for neutrality to the war between France and Spain by Great Britain, and the proposal made by France to carry on the war without privateering. The subject was still in negotiation.

16th. I finished the draft of a letter of instructions to R. Rush upon the disagreement between the Commissioners under the fifth article of the Treaty of Ghent and the Northern boundary; and began one upon the admission of Consuls into the British Colonial ports. The importance of all the subjects that I am discussing grows upon me, and time sinks under the pressure of my occupations. I have now less than two years, at the utmost extent, to continue in my present office. The great object of my desire is to leave the business of the office in a situation as advantageous as possible for the country. I task my faculties to their full endurance for this purpose. The head and heart need aid and guidance. May they not be wanting!

17th. Dr. Thornton called at my house, and told me that Mr. Salazar had waited here only for the publication of his speech in the National Intelligencer. It was published this

morning. He said also that Mr. Salazar had applied to the President, enquiring if we had not an old frigate we could sell to the republic of Colombia. The President had told him there was the Java, which would be sold at auction, and might be purchased for the republic of Colombia, or otherwise: the Government could not enquire for whom, or on whose account.

At one o'clock I presented to the President Mr. Stratford Canning, the British Minister, on his departure for England, upon leave of absence. The interview was rather longer than is usual upon such occasions, but passed, as usual, in mere compliments, personal and political.

After we withdrew from the drawing-room apartment, in which he was received, to the next room, I had a long conversation with him. He spoke again of the average value of the slaves to be paid for by the Convention of 12th July, 1822, and upon the suppression of the slave-trade; also upon the general proposition for negotiation upon various points which I have in contemplation. I told him that my answer to his last note upon the suppression of the slave-trade was before the President for consideration, and gave him the general outlines of my plan. He appeared to be uneasy at the idea that in my reply the subject of impressment would be discussed, and said he hoped, in the disposition between the two Governments so strongly tending towards conciliation, whatever was of an irritating character might be avoided. He intimated, as in candor, that the proposition to Great Britain to pass a law would excite some feeling, and that, in proposing to treat on the subjects of maritime law, the form of suggestion that Great Britain might have changed her principles would be less acceptable than if it were made in general terms.

I observed that in all her negotiations for the suppression of the slave-trade Great Britain not only asked the powers with whom she treated to pass laws, but made it a matter of express stipulation in the treaties; and in supposing that she might now view more favorably than heretofore the interests of neutrality, I had no thought of asking her to change her principles, but supposed that the difference of her position would necessarily produce different views.

Mr. Canning proposed to introduce to me Mr. Addington, as the Chargé d'Affaires during his absence. When he withdrew I rejoined the President, and told him the substance of his observations.

18th. At the President's. Took with me the draft of instructions to R. Rush on the Northern boundary, the reports of the two Commissioners, the two rejected general maps, and the sheet of Mitchell's Map, containing the boundary line as there marked. I also desired him to determine something concerning the average value of slaves, referred to in the Convention of 12th July, 1822.

He wrote a note to the heads of Departments, requesting a meeting on this subject to-morrow, and also that the member who should have the papers relating to the suppression of the slave-trade would bring them with him.

19th. There was a Cabinet meeting at the President's at one o'clock. Messrs. Crawford, Calhoun, and Thompson present; Mr. Wirt absent. My project of a Convention for the suppression of the slave-trade, answer to Mr. Canning, and instruction to R. Rush were first considered. Mr. Crawford and Mr. Calhoun started objections on various grounds—Crawford to the argument in the letter to Canning against the right of search, which, he said, was completely given up in the project of Convention, and therefore the argument might be represented by the British as a mere declamation against a practice which the project essentially conceded. This objection had weight, and I had been fully aware of it in drawing up the papers. But two objects were to be aimed at in them: one, fully to justify the repugnance which we have heretofore manifested against the right of search as practised by Great Britain in war; the other, to carry into effect the resolution of the House of Representatives recommending negotiation to obtain the recognition of the slave-trade to be piracy by the law of nations. To piracy, by the law of nations, search is incident of course, since wherever there is a right to *capture* there must be a right to search. The end desired by the resolution of the House of Representatives cannot be obtained without conceding the right so far of search, and all that is left us is to keep it still inflexibly

within the class of belligerent rights, as exercised only against pirates, the enemies of all mankind. It was therefore that in my project of Convention the first article assumes as a fact that both parties have declared the slave-trade piracy, and my instructions to Mr. Rush are not to offer it but after an Act of Parliament declaring the slave-trade to be piracy.

Mr. Calhoun's objection was to the admission of the right of capture by foreign officers at all, as weakening us upon the general objection to conceding the right of search. Mr. Thompson did not think the right of search conceded in the project at all. The search for pirates had, he said, absolutely nothing in common with the search of neutral vessels.

Much discussion which I cannot record.

Mr. Calhoun thought we should at once say we will never concede the right of search for slaves unless Britain will renounce search for her seamen in our vessels in war. I said I was willing to make one the condition of the other.

It was finally understood by the President that the project, much as drafted, should be proposed, provided the British make the offence capital by Act of Parliament, and not be communicated in detail to the British Government without that.

Crawford hinted at an additional guard: that lists of the vessels authorized to capture the slave-traders should be mutually furnished. But it would be very inconvenient to us, as instructions of capture are issued to all our cruisers.

The project is to go, but the letter to Mr. Canning is to be modified.

Upon the subject of the average value of the slaves carried away, and to be paid for, it was determined that we have not the necessary information, and that it must be left to be fixed by the Commissioners or otherwise, according to the Convention. After the other members of the Administration had withdrawn, I requested of the President to mark the passages of the draft to Mr. Canning which he would have omitted—for which purpose he kept the papers.

20th. Note from the President to call at his house. He read over the part of the draft of my reply to Mr. Canning, which

he thinks should be sent, and suggested the substance of a substitute for what he would omit.

I told him all my motives for writing the draft as it was, and, among the rest, that of exhibiting to the people of this country and to the world the real grounds of objection to the right of search. I reminded him particularly of the appearance that in Congress a combination of parties was endeavoring to turn this into a party question. They had twice reported against the opinion of the Executive; and, from the names of the persons mentioned to me by Mr. Mercer as willing to support his project, I was satisfied that views unfriendly to his Administration, and personally so to me, were mingling themselves with this subject. It had appeared to me that an exhibition of the grounds upon which the aversion of this Government to conceding the right of search was founded would at once serve for its justification, and guard against the prevalence of a disposition in Congress to counteract the views of the Executive.

The President said he was aware of this tendency to an opposition in the House, and that he wished the whole of that part of my draft to Mr. Canning which he proposed to omit should be inserted in the instructions to Mr. Rush. It would all be fully justified in the sentiments of this country; but in urging upon Great Britain her adoption of our plan instead of her own, he wished to avoid everything which, by irritating them, might give the British Ministers the opportunity of imputing insincerity or ill will to us. He wished to gain over to our views Mr. Wilberforce and his party, and to discard for that purpose all that, by touching their national pride, would turn them against us. By addressing to Mr. Rush that part of my reply to Mr. Canning, the whole will in proper time be communicated to Congress, and it will there have all its effect, without giving any cause of complaint to the British Ministry.

I requested him to mark with a pencil the part of my draft which he would wish to have transferred, and to sketch what he would have substituted in the reply to Mr. Canning; which he promised he would. I told him that my whole project had been merely formed for his consideration, to carry into effect the resolution of the House of Representatives, and to

meet the urgent pressure of the British Government concerning the slave-trade. My object was to give all the aid in my power to *his* measures, and I wished not one line of my writing to go forth that should not have his hearty approbation.

The consequence of this *distribution* of my reply to Canning is that it is incomplete, a half reply to himself, and half addressed to Mr. Rush, where it seems inappropriate. No use of it could be made by him in England, for the same reason that it is not to be addressed to Mr. Canning here. For his own conviction it can neither be necessary nor of any use; and to send it to England, merely that it may be hereafter communicated to Congress, is taking a route more circuitous than appears to be necessary. The President approved the whole of the draft of instruction upon the Northern boundary.

At the office, Baron Tuyl came again to press for a newspaper paragraph about the Russian Ukase, and brought a Washington Gazette, with a paragraph taken from the Boston Sentinel, purporting to be a letter from Washington, which the Baron thought would be annoying to the Emperor. He said the Emperor entered much into the spirit of the age, and was solicitous to stand fair in public opinion. I took the paper, and told him I would prepare a paragraph on the subject.

Mr. Canning came to ask me to fix a time to receive him, to present Mr. Addington as Chargé d'Affaires. I enquired when he intended to leave the city. He said, next Tuesday. I fixed Monday at two o'clock to receive him.

He asked if I had any further communications to make to him respecting the instructions for negotiation that I proposed transmitting to Mr. Rush. I told him of the French fishery question, the subject and situation of which I explained to him at large. I had not mentioned it to him before. He then took from his pocket a written minute of my first conversations with him concerning these proposed negotiations, which he read over to me with a view to ascertain its correctness. I made several remarks upon it, and we were led into a long further conversation concerning it. From the view that he had taken of all my remarks, he seemed desirous of considering it as a proposal to Great Britain for an alliance with the United States.

This I told him distinctly that it was not. He had in his minute mentioned the remark with which I had almost commenced these conferences, that I considered the European alliance as virtually dissolved.

I observed that my expressions might have been as strong as that, but their meaning was limited by the general object of the conversation. I had meant to say it was virtually dissolved so far as Great Britain was a party to it. I did not mean to say I thought it dissolved as to the Continental powers. I wished I could think it was. But Great Britain had separated herself from the counsels and measures of the alliance. She avowed the principles which were emphatically those of this country, and she disapproved the principles of the alliance, which this country abhorred. This coincidence of principle, connected with the great changes in the affairs of the world, passing before us, seemed to me a suitable occasion for the United States and Great Britain to compare their ideas and purposes together, with a view to the accommodation of great interests upon which they had heretofore differed.

The minute had also noted my remark that it had always been the policy of the United States to keep aloof from the European system of politics, but had omitted the observation made at the same time, that this had also been the policy of Europe towards us. I said that the first part of this position, taken by itself, might import an unsocial and sulky spirit on the part of the United States, which I did not intend to apply to them, and which in fact did not belong to them. It had been quite as much the policy of Europe to keep us aloof as it had been ours to keep aloof from them; perhaps more so—with regard to the slave-trade, for instance. They had been for the last five years closely negotiating with all Europe, and at the same time with us. When they had concluded their European treaties, they invited our accession to them; when they laid their papers before Parliament, we obtained sight of them. But while they were negotiating, not a lisp of anything that passed had ever been communicated to us. In all this we had acquiesced, because it fell in with our own policy. Had it been otherwise, we should have intimated freely our expecta-

tion that the proceedings of the allies relating to the slave-trade should be communicated to us while they were in deliberation, and not after they have been closed. We were yet to hear from them what had passed relating to the slave-trade at Verona.

To all this Mr. Canning had little to reply. But he said my observations had all imported that the basis of negotiation was to be a change of principle on the part of Great Britain. But it could hardly be expected that a great nation should change its principles. Negotiation must be founded upon compromise, and concession must be the price of concession. He had understood my ultimate intention to be, to bring the United States and Great Britain into a more intimate connection of policy than they had been heretofore, but I had not entered upon particulars. Perhaps something might depend upon them.

I said that my own ideas heretofore had been confined to the general view. Mr. Rush's instructions would be rather to consult than to propose—to ask whether the British Government think, as we do, that this is a suitable time for negotiating again upon topics concerning which we had not heretofore been able to agree. Our proposals may depend upon the manner in which this overture will be received. If Great Britain has undergone no change of opinions with regard to maritime and neutral law, her Minister has only to say that he thinks no profitable result would come from a negotiation concerning them at this time. My belief was, that upon all the maritime questions except impressment Great Britain would now maintain our principles. She had lately done so in issuing reprisals against the blockade of Morales.

He said Great Britain had never maintained a different principle; all her measures departing from it in the late war having been expressly founded upon retaliation.

I said, very well. The question was whether she would now stipulate the principle that she avows. I foresaw nothing in which she would want concession, unless upon impressment; and as to that I had but a word to say. So long as Britain should remain neutral, there was no occasion for any agreement upon the subject. But it weighed inexpressibly upon my mind;

it would be included among the subjects for negotiation to be proposed by Mr. Rush. I could only say that if Great Britain still adhered to her former views concerning it, and insisted upon continuing the practice of taking men, if she would not abandon the practice of beginning by the exercise of force, my wish was that Mr. G. Canning would say so, and decline treating about it. Then if Britain should engage in war she might avoid the conflict by instructions to her naval officers. My hope would rely upon that. For if impressment of our men was to continue, my belief was that we should meet it by war as long as this country could be kept afloat above the sea.

He said they disclaimed the right of taking any other than British subjects. "But," said I, "you actually take others, and, when the late war broke out, turned over thousands of impressed Americans to Dartmoor prison, after offering them the alternative of fighting against their own country."

He said I was growing warm. I replied, if I could but prevail upon one British Minister to put himself and his country for a moment in our place on this question, I should be sure of success. However, if the British Government should decline treating of this concern, it would only be for them to say so. There were materials enough for the negotiation without resorting to this.

With regard to South America and the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico, I said it appeared, from the published diplomatic papers and from Mr. G. Canning's speeches in Parliament, that France, at least, was to make no conquests in this hemisphere.

He said he believed the expressions were, "the late Spanish Colonies."

I said that, taking all the documents together, they included also Cuba and Porto Rico.

He spoke to me of the speech to the President lately made by Mr. Salazar, and now published. I told him the manner in which the speech was made, and observed that Salazar had done justice to the disinterested policy of the United States in the recognition of South American independence.

Canning said he had observed it, but asked about the deputies from St. Salvador, of Guatemala. I said I had heard nothing of

them, except what was in the newspapers; which was true, but which Canning scarcely seemed to credit. They are at Philadelphia—one of them said to be sick. Since the republican revolution in Mexico, and the prospects of a federative Government there, one of those deputies has been dispatched to Mexico, and I have supposed they would suspend their proposals for union with this country till they could consult for a union under the federal system with Mexico.

I have given the substance of this conversation with Mr. Canning, deeming it important.

23d. Mr. Cutts came, and introduced to me Dr. Shaw, of Albany, formerly a member of Congress from Vermont, and father of Henry Shaw, some time member of Congress from Berkshire, Massachusetts. Dr. Shaw is a great canvasser with the Legislature of New York, at Albany, for the next Presidential election, and I suppose is now here upon that affair. He told me the Governor of New York had it in contemplation to recommend to the Legislature to pass a law authorizing the choice of electors for President and Vice-President to be made by the people by general ticket. He said when the Legislature should assemble next January it would be known in a week who the majority will be for. Then the majority will be for retaining the choice in their own hands, and the minority for going to the people. But it would save the necessity of an extra session of the Legislature, and the election might be held at the same time with that of members for the then ensuing Legislature, and of members for the next Congress. Almost all the elective offices in New York have been given by the new Constitution to the people, and the people would have more influence over the next Presidential election than they ever had before. I had heard something about this Dr. Shaw, and understood him the better for it. At the office, W. W. Seaton came to solicit again employment for Mr. Little. I called at the President's concerning the several instructions to R. Rush. I proposed to him to omit altogether the part of my draft in answer to Mr. Canning for which he had prepared a substitute, and, if necessary hereafter to lay the papers before Congress, to present it as part of a report to him; to which he assented.

24th. Mr. Canning came, and presented Mr. Henry Unwin Addington as Chargé d'Affaires from Great Britain from the time of his own embarking. He spoke of the average value of the slaves again, and I told him the President had, upon consultation with the members of the Administration, concluded to leave it to be settled by the Commissioners.

He then asked me if it might be expected that in the course of the summer I should be prepared to make to Mr. Addington a distinct proposition as to the Northern boundary.

I said I should not. We should first wish to ascertain whether the British Government would negotiate upon this subject or not.

He said he had understood me as admitting that if the British Government should insist on it, we should be bound to make a distinct proposition.

I answered I had, on the condition that Great Britain would agree to negotiate concerning it, and not otherwise. We did not intend to merely make a proposition, for Great Britain to accept or reject, and then resort at once to the arbitrator. If she would agree to negotiate, we would then make a proposition. But it would be necessary then to come to some agreement as to the map to be used. The Commissioners had reported no map, and yet the report of the British Commissioners referred directly to a map which had been rejected.

He said the British Commissioner had offered to send out surveyors again to ascertain the correctness of the map, and he thought this ought to have been done.

I said the offer was made when it was impossible it should be accepted. It proposed a prolongation of the Commission for years, with no prospect of a better result than before. My own impression was that the Commissioners ought rather to have broken up the Commission, and made their reports four or five years sooner than they did, instead of so much later. He was disposed to blame our Commissioner. We had a profound impression that the conduct of their Commissioner had been wrong. Instead of settling the disputed question, he had made it ten times more difficult than it had ever been. He had raised pretensions never dreamt of, and, with the identical

map used by the negotiators of the Peace of 1782 before him, pencil-marked by them, upon the question where the line intended by them was, he had reported a book with five hundred pages of sophistry to prove that they meant a line more than a hundred miles distant from the place marked by themselves. It was impossible to think of such a proceeding with coolness. But, at all events, wherever the blame might be, so the fact was —no map was reported; and if we should go before the arbitrator, we should begin by protesting against the admission of the map to which the British Commissioner's report refers, unless the map of our surveyor should also be admitted.

Mr. Canning waived a further discussion of the subject, and took leave. He is to depart to-morrow. I shall probably see him no more. He is a proud, high-tempered Englishman, of good but not extraordinary parts; stubborn and punctilious, with a disposition to be overbearing, which I have often been compelled to check in its own way. He is, of all the foreign Ministers with whom I have had occasion to treat, the man who has most severely tried my temper. Yet he has been long in the diplomatic career, and treated with Governments of the most opposite characters. He has, however, a great respect for his word, and there is nothing false about him. This is an excellent quality for a negotiator. Mr. Canning is a man of forms, studious of courtesy, and tenacious of private morals. As a diplomatic man, his great want is suppleness, and his great virtue is sincerity. I finished the reply to his letter of 8th April last, on the slave-trade.

28th. At one o'clock there was a meeting at the President's concerning the instructions to be given to Mr. Middleton for the negotiation relating to the Northwest coast of America. The question was, what he should be authorized to propose or to agree to. The Emperor's Ukase asserts a right of territory to the fifty-first degree of north latitude, and interdicts the approach of foreign vessels within one hundred Italian miles of the coast. I thought no territorial right could be admitted on this continent, as the Russians appear to have no settlement upon it, except that in California. I read the correspondence between Count Romanzoff and L. Harris on the subject in 1808; a note

from Mr. Daschkoff to R. Smith in 1810; a dispatch from R. Smith to me, and parts of two dispatches from me to him, giving accounts of conferences which I had with Count Romanzoff.

The President read a letter from Mr. James Lloyd to him, with two enclosures. After some discussion, it was concluded that I should draft an instruction to Mr. Middleton authorizing him first to propose an article similar to that in our Convention with Great Britain of October, 1818, agreeing that the whole coast should be open for the navigation of all the parties for a definite term of years; and as there would probably be no inducement for Russia to agree to this, he should then offer to agree to a boundary line for Russia at 55°, on condition that the coast might be frequented for trade with the natives, as it has been heretofore. I received and read a letter from A. Gallatin, at New York.

Mr. Bailey showed me a letter from G. Bates to him, saying that W. Cunningham had written last winter a letter to Mr. Crawford, which he had then shown to Jonathan Russell, and injurious to my character and that of my father. I had not heard of or from Cunningham, I believe, these fifteen years, and knew not whether he was living or dead. He can write nothing true, injurious to my father's character or mine.

30th. At the office, Count de Menou came. He has received instructions from the Viscount de Chateaubriand concerning the fishery question upon the western coast of Newfoundland. But there are preceding instructions to which he is referred, and which he has not yet received. He wished, therefore, to delay his written communication for some days. I told him there was no occasion for hurry, if there would be no exercise of force to disturb our fishermen during the present season. He said his instructions from Mr. Chateaubriand were altogether of a conciliatory character, and he informed him that he had written to the Minister of Marine accordingly.

Menou spoke also again about the sale of prizes in the ports of the United States, and asked if any measure had been taken by this Government concerning it. I said, no; that prizes could not be judicially declared such, or tried within our ports, but there was no law to prohibit the sale of prizes in them.

He said he had examined the correspondence of Mr. Jefferson, in 1793, on the subject, and the instructions to Messrs. Pinckney, Marshall, and Gerry, in 1797, which also referred to it, and proposed shortly to make me a written communication relating to it.

I told him I would in the mean time examine those correspondences and instructions, and refer to the President for directions.

Menou told me, too, that his dispatches from the Viscount de Chateaubriand mentioned in terms of respect Mr. Gallatin and his conduct, expressing regret at his departure, and the satisfaction with which his return would be welcomed. I told Menou that these assurances would give great pleasure to the President.

Baron Tuyl came next, with many acknowledgments and thanks for the paragraph published this morning as editorial in the National Intelligencer, which, he said, was perfectly conformable to the wish he had mentioned to me, and which would have an excellent conciliatory effect at St. Petersburg. I was very much absorbed in the examination of this Northwest Coast question, and took a cursory view of Mackenzie's Travels.

July 1st. Finished the draft of instructions to H. Middleton upon the Northwest Coast question. My time is swallowed up in the examination of Cook's Third Voyage, Coxe's Russian Discoveries, Humboldt, Mackenzie, Lewis and Clarke, and the Annual Register for 1790, for research into this question. I find proof enough to put down the Russian argument; but how shall we answer the Russian cannon?

3d. I began a letter of instructions to R. Rush upon the Northwest Coast question. This subject still absorbs my time, so that I cannot pay due attention to many others. I received a summons about one o'clock to attend at the President's immediately. I found all the members of the Administration there, and also Mr. Peter Hagner, the Third Auditor. The business on which the meeting had been assembled was already done. It was that the President should approve a partial adjustment of the Vice-President's accounts, making him, as I understood, a new allowance of about forty-six thousand dol-

lars. At the office Mr. John Connell came, recently returned from France. He had a long conversation with me about claims of our merchants upon France, and also upon Denmark, which they wish now to revive. Connell afterwards dined with us, and passed the evening here till ten. Among other things, he intimated to me that G. W. Erving was writing against me in the newspapers at New York. Erving has taken a passion to be Minister in France, in place of Mr. Gallatin, and very erroneously ascribes to me the President's indisposition to appoint him.

6th. Mr. George Hay was this morning at my house, with some queries which he said had been put to him, and which he wished to answer. They related to his agency before the Commission, not yet in session, under the Slave Indemnity Convention: whether he would be authorized to act in behalf of individual claimants; whether they would be allowed to employ other agents or counsel; and whether he might accept any compensation from individuals.

I said I presumed he might appear for each and every claimant; that each claimant would also have the power to appear before the Commissioners in person, or by any agent whom he might appoint. But the Commissioners themselves I supposed would determine whom they would hear, and in what manner hear the claims. As to the question whether Mr. Hay could with propriety receive compensation from individual claimants, I did not feel myself competent to give an opinion.

Mr. Hay spoke in terms of great severity of Ritchie, the editor of the Richmond Enquirer, and said he was the most unprincipled fellow upon earth, whose whole efforts would be to work himself into the side of the majority. He was now endeavoring to buy up the newspaper lately established in Richmond against him, the Virginia Times. The Richmond Enquirer has been for several years the political barometer of the State of Virginia.

7th. Cabinet meeting at the President's; all there. The subject for consideration was, whether new and enlarged instructions should be given to our naval officers in the West Indies to protect our merchant vessels, and recapture them if they

should be taken. The dispatch from T. Randall was read. It was finally concluded to do nothing at present.

Mr. Crawford said if any measure was to be taken, it would be better against Spain relapsed than against Spain regenerated.

Mr. Wirt thought that since our last treaty with Spain our vessels could not cover French property from Spanish capture, even if France acknowledged the principle that free ships make free goods; because she is not bound to acknowledge it by treaty.

8th. Swam with Antoine in the Potomac to the bridge—one hour in the water. While we were swimming, there sprang up a fresh breeze, which made a surf, and much increased the difficulty of swimming, especially against it and the current. This is one of the varieties of instruction for the school. It sometimes occurs to me that this exercise and amusement, as I am now indulging myself in it, is with the constant risk of life. Perhaps that is the reason why so few persons ever learn to swim; and perhaps it should now teach me discretion.

The Count de Menou came to enquire where were the Quirpon Islands; I showed him upon Mitchell's map. We had much conversation upon the subject of the French claim to exclusive fishery from them to Cape Ray. He said he had received further instructions from the Viscount de Chateaubriand on this affair, but there were still two previous instructions which he had not received. He saw it was an affair of great delicacy, and he did not see how they and we could enjoy a concurrent right of fishery on the same coast.

I told him the whole affair was a question between France and Great Britain, with which we had but a secondary concern. Great Britain was bound to maintain her own jurisdiction. And if she had conceded to us a right which she had already granted as an exclusive possession to France, she must indemnify us for it. The Count spoke also upon the subject of the maritime questions arisen from the war between France and Spain, upon which he said he should write to me.

We examined the State papers, and found Mr. Jefferson's answer to Genest of 24th July, 1793, and the reference to it in Mr. Pickering's instructions to Messrs. Marshall, Pinkney, and

Gerry. It was as I had stated yesterday to Mr. Wirt: Mr. Jefferson's assertion of the principle that enemy's property is liable to capture and condemnation in the vessel of a friend is not absolute. His words are, "I believe it cannot be doubted."

10th. Swam with Antoine to and from the bridge, but, as the tide was strongly rising, we were full three-quarters of an hour in going to it, and not more than twenty minutes in returning. This was one of my swimming lessons, and a serious admonition to caution.

11th. And I commence upon my fifty-seventh year. Swam with Antoine an hour in the Potomac. We started for the bridge, but, after swimming about half an hour, I perceived by reference to a house upon the shore, beyond which we were to pass, that we had ascended very little above where we had left our clothes, and that the current of the tide was insensibly carrying us into the middle of the river. We continued struggling against the tide about twenty minutes longer, without apparently gaining a foot upon the tide. I then turned back, and in fifteen minutes landed at the rock where I had left my clothes, upon which, in the interval, the tide had so much encroached that it began to wet them, and in another half-hour would have soaked them through or floated them away. We had been an hour and five minutes in the water, without touching ground, and before turning back I began to find myself weary.

The Baron de Tuyl called about some dispatches that he is sending to Count Lieven; and the Count de Menou left a note written by instructions from the Viscount de Chateaubriand, expressing regret at the departure of Mr. Gallatin, and professing a readiness to negotiate concerning the claims of our citizens and concerning that of France under the Louisiana Treaty.

I told Menou that we should not connect them together; that the subject of the Louisiana Treaty claim had been exhausted. The views of the American Government concerning it had been fully set forth, and were not changed. If France had anything further to say upon it, we should always be ready to give it due consideration, but could not connect it with our claims in negotiation. I said this the more freely, because I

knew that Mr. Gallatin had very explicitly said as much to the Viscount de Chateaubriand.

17th. At the office, Baron Tuyl came, and enquired if he might inform his Government that instructions would be forwarded by Mr. Hughes to Mr. Middleton for negotiating on the Northwest Coast question. I said he might. He then manifested a desire to know as much as I was disposed to tell him as to the purport of those instructions. I told him as much as I thought prudent, as he observed that it was personally somewhat important to him to be so far confided in here as to know the general purport of what we intended to propose. I told him specially that we should contest the right of Russia to *any* territorial establishment on this continent, and that we should assume distinctly the principle that the American continents are no longer subjects for *any* new European colonial establishments.[1] We had a conversation of an hour or more, at the close of which he said that although there would be difficulties in the negotiation, he did not foresee that they would be insurmountable.

23d. Mr. Gallatin is going to his estate in the western part of Pennsylvania. He did not absolutely dislike returning to France, but thought the time indispensably required for the arrangement of his private affairs here would not permit him to go without a delay which may be detrimental to the public interest, and he does not wish that the mission to France may be kept in abeyance to accommodate him. He spoke of the claimants upon France, some of whom he had advised to petition Congress; and said there was another measure which he had not suggested to them, and which the Government could not directly propose to them; but which, if it comported with the President's views, he would advise—which was, that the claimants should make application by memorial to the President that he would compound with France, and take a round sum to be distributed among them in full satisfaction. This was the only way in which the French Government would settle it. I said I thought the claimants must find that out themselves. The Government could not advise them.

[1] The first hint of the policy so well known afterwards as the Monroe doctrine.

24th. I am deeply engaged in preparing instructions to R. Rush, on maritime, belligerent, and neutral law.

28th. I called at the President's with the draft of instructions to R. Rush, to accompany the project of a Convention to regulate neutral and belligerent rights in time of war. The President had suggested a single alteration in the draft of a Convention which I had sent him on Saturday.

Mr. Calhoun came in while I was reading to the President the draft of the instruction, and, after I had finished, started several doubts as to the propriety of proposing this project at all. He was confident it would not be accepted by Great Britain; and I have no expectation that it will at this time. But my object is to propose it to Russia and France, and to all the maritime powers of Europe, as well as to Great Britain. We discussed for some time its expediency. I appealed to the primitive policy of this country as exemplified in the first treaty with Prussia. I said the seed was then first sown, and had borne a single plant, which the fury of the revolutionary tempest had since swept away. I thought the present a moment eminently auspicious for sowing the same seed a second time, and, although I had no hope it would now take root in England, I had the most cheering confidence that it would ultimately bear a harvest of happiness to mankind and of glory to this Union.

Mr. Calhoun still suggested doubts, but no positive objections, and the President directed me to send the draft of the articles round to the members of the Administration, and to call a meeting of them for to-morrow at one. I was not surprised at Mr. Calhoun's doubts. My plan involves nothing less than a revolution in the laws of war—a great amelioration in the condition of man. Is it the dream of a visionary, or is it the great and practicable conception of a benefactor of mankind? I believe it the latter; and I believe this to be precisely the time for proposing it to the world. Should it even fail, it will be honorable to have proposed it.[1] Founded on

[1] This anticipation was fulfilled in 1856 by the Declaration of Paris, adopted by all the chief powers of Europe, including Great Britain. It is a curious circumstance that the United States, the earliest advocate of the cause, should not appear even as an assenting party.

justice, humanity, and benevolence, it can in no event bear bitter fruits.

29th. The meeting at the President's was delayed about an hour by a very heavy thunder-shower. Mr. Wirt was absent from it from indisposition. The draft of a Convention was read and discussed. Mr. Calhoun still intimated doubts as to the expediency of proposing it; but more faintly than yesterday.

Mr. Crawford made no express objection, but declared his full conviction that Great Britain would accept no part of it which it would be useful or desirable to us that she should accept. He also objected to some of the details, and suggested alterations in several of the articles, some of which the President approved. His chief objection was to the article which authorizes the punishment of persons taking commissions for privateering from foreign powers, as pirates; though we have it already in almost every one of our treaties. But in this objection he was alone.

Calhoun doubted whether by proposing the whole Convention at once we might not fail of obtaining what we might perhaps obtain if presented singly—an arrangement of the impressment question. But Crawford thought Great Britain would never settle the impressment question by treaty. She would let it die a natural death, by abstaining to issue orders to her naval officers to impress men from our vessels.

Mr. Thompson declared himself in the most explicit manner in favor of my whole project; and after the meeting was over, the President directed me to forward by express to Mr. Hughes, at New York, the whole letter of instruction as it was, and the whole draft of a Convention, with one alteration, suggested by Mr. Crawford.

I had sent to Baron Tuyl requesting him to call at my office at four o'clock, and I found him there on my return from the President's. I told him that, besides the subject of the Northwest Coast question, Mr. Middleton would be instructed to communicate with the Imperial Government upon two other very important subjects—that of constituting the slave-trade piracy by the law of nations, and that of the regulation of neutral and belligerent rights. I explained to him briefly, and

in general terms, the principles upon which Mr. Rush was authorized to negotiate in England upon both these points, and observed to him that the President proposed to present the same principles for negotiation with Russia. I added that I had sent for him to give him notice of this, that he might have the opportunity of first communicating it to his Government.

He thanked me in terms of the warmest acknowledgment, and appeared to be exceedingly gratified at the substance of our proposals in both cases. He asked me whether he should yet have time to prepare a dispatch to go by Mr. Hughes, and said he should wish to have an opportunity of showing it to me before sending it.

I told him I should send my dispatches by an express to go early to-morrow morning for New York. If he would write his dispatch and send it to me at any time this evening before midnight, I would deliver it in charge of the express. I should be grateful for the perusal of it, if he would send it to me open.

He accordingly sent me about ten this evening a dispatch containing a succinct account of our interview, with the request that after reading and, if necessary, correcting it, I would send it back to him to seal up; as I did. He sent it again about midnight, sealed, and directed to Count Lieven, at London.

31st. Mr. Calhoun told me that upon reflection he thought better of my project for abolishing private war upon the sea than he had at first.

Day. The important labor of the month has been the preparation of instructions to R. Rush and to H. Middleton upon the Northwest Coast question, and upon the project of a Convention for the regulation of neutral and belligerent rights. These are both important transactions, and the latter especially one which will warrant the special invocation of wisdom from above. When I think, if it possibly could succeed, what a real and solid blessing it would be to the human race, I can scarcely guard myself from a spirit of enthusiasm, which it becomes me to distrust. I feel that I could die for it with joy, and that if my last moments could be cheered with the consciousness of having contributed to it, I could go before the throne of Omnipotence with a plea for mercy, and with a consciousness

of not having lived in vain for the world of mankind. It has been for more than thirty years my prayer to God that this might be my lot upon earth, to render signal service to my country and to my species. For the specific object, the end, and the means, I have relied alike upon the goodness of God. What they were, or would be, I knew not. For "it is not in man that walketh to direct his steps." I have rendered services to my country, but not such as could satisfy my own ambition. But this offers the specific object which I have desired. And why should not the hearts of the rulers of mankind be turned to approve and establish it? I have opened my soul to the hope, though with trembling.

August 1st. I called at the President's and proposed that Mr. Middleton should be instructed to communicate to the Russian Government a copy of the Convention offered to Great Britain for the regulation of neutral and belligerent rights, and to ascertain if Russia would be willing to accede to it. The President consented. I had begun the draft of an instruction to Mr. Middleton concerning it. I asked the President if he proposed to send a Minister to France in the place of Mr. Gallatin. He had not determined, nor has Mr. Gallatin been explicit in declining to return to France. He cannot return this year, and he is willing that an appointment should be made to supply his place, if it is thought that the public service so requires. The President asked me what I would advise him to do.

I thought the appointment might be postponed perhaps until winter, but not over that season. I observed that the Act of Congress of 3d March, 1815, offering the abolition of discriminating duties, and all the Acts founded upon it, were so limited that they would expire during the next session of Congress. A revision of the whole system would be necessary, and I would suggest to him the expediency of considering what notice it will be proper for him to take of it in the message at the commencement of the next session.

He said that he had already, in former messages, recommended perseverance in the system, and had seen no reason for changing his opinion.

I said that before the opening of the session we must have some answer from England respecting the proposed negotiations, and perhaps they might render it proper that he should also mention them in the message, particularly the project for regulating the principles of belligerent and neutral rights in time of war. He said he would consider of this.

I mentioned to him that I had heard the Secretary of the Navy had finally consented to accept the vacant seat on the bench of the Supreme Court; which, he said, was true; but he would remain some time longer in the Navy Department; and, he added, he had not yet thought of whom he should nominate for Mr. Thompson's successor.

The public newspapers say it has been *offered* to Mr. Southard, the Senator from New Jersey.

2d. The President was suddenly seized this morning with cramps or convulsions, of such extreme violence that he was at one time believed to be dying, and he lay upwards of two hours in a state of insensibility. I did not hear of it till the fit was over. I called at his house, and saw there Dr. Washington and Mr. Hay. The Doctor said the President was disposed to sleep, and it would be best that no person should see him. Mr. Hay said Dr. Sim had pronounced the danger to be past, and did not apprehend a renewal of the attack. But, Hay added, he thought it would be some time before it would be prudent to lay before him business of any kind. Before returning home to dinner, I sent to enquire how he was, and the answer to the messenger was, "much better."

3d. I finished this day the draft of a letter of instruction to H. Middleton, to go with a copy of the project of a Convention for the regulation of belligerent and neutral rights.

6th. Yesterday was fourteen years since I embarked from Charlestown for Russia, and this day, six years have passed since I landed at New York on my return from Europe. They were both important days in my life—each the commencement of a career of high responsibility and momentous trust. The first was signalized by important events, and in its progress and termination was prosperous beyond all that I should have dared to ask. The second is yet unfinished. It has been, and

is, checkered, as all the scenes of human life must be, with good and evil, but, in the main, eminently cheering. Let my heart be grateful for the past, and prepared with resignation and resource for the future!

8th. At the office, the Baron de Tuyl came with a newspaper containing the account of the dinner given to Captain Hull, at Boston, upon his appointment to go and take the place of Stewart as commander of the squadron in the Pacific. He was alarmed at the toasts, which smacked strongly of resistance to the Russian Imperial Ukase, and was afraid that instructions might be given to Hull which might lead to actual collisions with the Russian naval force in that sea. He expressed himself in the most conciliatory manner, and with an earnest hope that, as the subject was in amicable negotiation with the fairest hope of a satisfactory arrangement, nothing might occur to increase the difficulties of the case.

I told him I would report his observations, and had no doubt the President would direct that instructions should be given to Captain Hull to avoid all premature collisions. This would be done in full confidence of the Emperor's sincere disposition to arrange the affair amicably; and I should candidly assure him that apart from this consideration, and if the case had been left on the footing of Mr. Poletica's last letter to me on this subject, Captain Hull's instructions undoubtedly would have been to protect the citizens of the United States in the prosecution of their lawful commerce.

The Baron asked me also to explain to him the meaning of a paragraph in the circular from the Secretary of the Treasury to the Collectors of the customs on the admission of foreign prizes into our ports.

I gave him the desired explanation. I called at the President's. He is convalescent. I left several papers with him, and told him of my conversation this morning with Baron Tuyl.

9th. Swam in the Potomac to the bridge against the tide, and returned with it. One hour and fifty minutes in the water, Antoine being still at hand with the canoe. I was about an hour and a half in going, and not more than twenty minutes in

returning. At the President's. He received me in his bedchamber, which he was advised not to leave this day. He recommended to me to strike out from the instruction to Mr. Middleton upon the neutral and belligerent right project, all the reference to the Holy Alliance, because, that treaty being considered in this country as a mere hypocritical fraud, any reference to it whatever would have a turn given to it of odious misconstruction here against myself.

I said my reference to the Holy Alliance was merely an "*argumentum ad hominem*." It was a call upon the Emperor of Russia for an act unequivocally corresponding with the sentiment that he had proclaimed, a direct appeal to his conscience to support by deeds his professions; and I had been so far from expressing approbation of his acts, or those of the Holy Alliance, that I had distinctly alluded to them as liable to censure, and warned him of the danger to him that the judgment of posterity would contrast them with his declaration in the treaty.

The President said he had remarked this guard, but still thought it would be best to omit the reference to the Holy Alliance altogether.

I accordingly struck it out, and thereby gave up what I considered the mainspring of the argument to the Emperor. I relied upon its operation incomparably more than upon anything else. The President is often afraid of the skittishness of mere popular prejudices, and I am always disposed to brave them. I have much more confidence in the calm and deliberate judgment of the people than he has. I have no doubt that the newspaper scavengers and scape-gibbets, whose republicanism runs in filthy streams from the press, would have attempted to exhibit this reference to the Holy Alliance in a false and odious point of view, but I would have trusted to the good sense of the people to see through their sophistry and their motives. They would have seen in it what was intended: a powerful engine of persuasion applied to the heart of him whom it was all-important to persuade; a bold and direct address to his intimate conscience, and a warning voice to check and control his acts bearing hard upon the liberties of

nations. In this case, as in all others for which Mr. Monroe as the head of his Administration is responsible, I submit my own judgment to his. The only case in which I insisted upon my own was in the controversy with Jonathan Russell, because in that all the responsibility rested upon me. But I have now less confidence of succeeding with the Emperor.

The President was also apprehensive of speaking too favorably of the proposal by France to exempt private property from capture by sea, lest it should appear to countenance her invasion of Spain itself. He advised an additional paragraph to guard against that, which I accordingly wrote.

11th. Swam with Antoine to and from the bridge—one hour and five minutes only in the water. The tide was strong, with a brisk southwest wind, to stem both of which beyond the bridge I found too hard a task.

At the office I made a draft of an answer to the Count de Menou's note of 11th July. The Count himself called, and had some conversation with me concerning the circular from the Secretary of the Treasury to the Collectors of the customs, with which he was in the main highly gratified. But he asked some questions respecting the paragraph which the Baron de Tuyl had found unintelligible. It seems to make it a question whether in the present war France recognizes the principle that free ships make free goods. He said this had been distinctly declared in his note to me, and indeed that she did more—she authorized no capture even of Spanish merchant vessels.

I said I supposed the circular had spoken contingently, because in the French declaration there was a reservation of a right of resorting to reprisals if Spain should not reciprocate the exemption of merchant vessels from capture. He said the reservation was not upon anything which Spain should do, but upon what neutrals might tolerate.

I said it seemed to make no difference, since France was to be herself the judge of what would amount to such toleration. But I added that if the case suggested in the circular should occur immediately, we should give France the benefit of the regulation; which, he said, was all he desired.

He promised to write me concerning it to-morrow.

I told him of the proposition we had determined to make to Great Britain and Russia for establishing this peace to private property on the ocean as a principle of the law of nations for the future. I told him I should write concerning it to Mr. Sheldon, and observed that he might mention it to his Government if he thought proper. He spoke also of his note concerning Mr. Gallatin, and a negotiation for claims, which I told him I should answer in a day or two.

I received a note from Mr. Addington, mentioning that Mr. Canning had sailed from New York on the 9th, and asking an interview, which I appointed for to-morrow at two o'clock.

12th. I called at the President's, and found him much recovered. Read to him the draft of an answer to the Count de Menou's note of 11th July, and of an instruction to A. H. Everett on the Dutch discriminating duties, of which he approved. I mentioned to him the remarks of the Baron de Tuyl and the Count de Menou upon one paragraph in the circular from the Secretary of the Treasury to the Collectors.

The President said he himself had noticed that paragraph, and that perhaps an explanatory letter might go to the Collectors. That paragraph was indeed totally unnecessary to the circular; it is introduced in the most awkward manner, and when I enquire why it was inserted, the motive which suggests itself is such as I am unwilling to credit. Yet it is altogether in the character of the man.

14th. At the office, Baron de Tuyl came, and read to me part of a dispatch from Count Lieven of 19th June. The British Government refused to prohibit the sale of prizes in British ports. I was at the President's. Read to him a draft of an instruction to D. Sheldon, which he approved. Appointed a Cabinet meeting for to-morrow at one.

15th. Cabinet meeting at the President's at one. Mr. Wirt absent from indisposition. The subject first mentioned by the President for consideration was a letter to me from Andreas Luriottis at London, styling himself Envoy of the Provisional Government of the Greeks, a copy of which was sent me some months since by R. Rush. This letter, recommending the

cause of the Greeks, solicited of the United States recognition, alliance, and assistance. It was proper to give a distinct answer to this letter, and I had asked the President's directions what the answer should be.

The President now proposed the question. Mr. Gallatin had proposed in one of his last dispatches, as if he was serious, that we should assist the Greeks with our naval force in the Mediterranean—one frigate, one corvette, and one schooner. Mr. Crawford and Mr. Calhoun inclined to countenance this project. Crawford asked, hesitatingly, whether we were at peace with Turkey, and seemed only to wait for opposition to maintain that we were not. Calhoun descanted upon his great enthusiasm for the cause of the Greeks; he was for taking no heed of Turkey whatever. In this, as in many other cases, these gentlemen have two sources of eloquence at these Cabinet meetings—one with reference to sentiment, and the other to action. Their enthusiasm for the Greeks is all sentiment, and the standard of this is the prevailing popular feeling. As for action, they are seldom agreed; and after two hours of discussion this day the subject was dismissed, leaving it precisely where it was—nothing determined, and nothing practicable proposed by either of them. Seeing their drift, I did not think it necessary to discuss their doubts whether we were at peace with Turkey, their contempt for the Sublime Porte, or their enthusiasm for the cause of the Greeks. I have not much esteem for the enthusiasm which evaporates in words; and I told the President I thought not quite so lightly of a war with Turkey. I said I would prepare an answer to Mr. Luriottis, and an instruction to Mr. Rush for his consideration. He had proposed the question whether a secret Agent should be sent to Greece. Calhoun mentioned Edward Everett, and I named Lyman;[1] but we cannot send a *secret* Agent. Our Agents never will be secret.

The President informed us that Mr. Thompson, the Secretary of the Navy, had consented to accept the vacant seat upon the bench of the Supreme Court; and that he had thought of Mr. Southard, the Senator from New Jersey, for the Navy

[1] Probably, Theodore Lyman, of Boston.

Department. But he had not written to Mr. Southard, nor given him any notice of his intention; nor was he under any engagement or promise whatever to appoint him. He had thought of him as a man of abilities, a native of the State of New Jersey, one of the original thirteen, and from which there had never been a member of the Administration. He now mentioned it because three of us stood in peculiar relations with reference to the succession to the place now occupied by him. He considered it honorable to us all that large portions of the country were disposed to support each of us for that station. His own confidence in each of us was entire and unimpaired. He made these remarks not with the expectation that either of us would reply to them, but in reference to the appointment of a Secretary of the Navy, to say that if either of us had any observations to make he would give them full consideration.

As to the mission to France, he had wished that Mr. Gallatin should return thither, but Mr. Gallatin himself had urged him to make another appointment, and he had thought of Mr. James Brown, of Louisiana. He was of opinion that in the present critical state of Europe this appointment should be made without delay.

This address of the President was followed by a pause of silence, which I terminated by asking Mr. Thompson when he proposed to quit the Department and enter upon his judicial office. He intimated, not very soon, and that he thought it would not be necessary for him to hold the next coming Circuit Courts in New York, Connecticut, and Vermont.

The President thought it would be best that he should, and said the Government would be blamed if those terms should pass without a Circuit Judge to hold them.

Mr. Thompson made some question as to the law, and asked me if I had examined the two Acts of Congress of 1802 and 1808. By the first, the President has the power of allotting a Judge to hold the Circuit. The second provides that the Judge residing in the Circuit shall hold the Circuit Court. Mr. Thompson had some doubts whether his legal residence was in the Second District, as he has dwelt for the last four years here.

The President said he considered himself as residing in Virginia, though he has lived here these twelve years. Mr. Calhoun also considered himself as residing in South Carolina.

The President finally asked Mr. Thompson to remain with him a few minutes alone.

It is remarkable that several newspapers have some days since announced the appointment of Mr. Southard to the Navy Department as already made, and some of them have fixed upon the last of this month as the time when he is to enter upon the duties of the office. He is said to be a devoted partisan of Mr. Calhoun; which I suppose was the occasion of the President's remarks on announcing his intention to appoint him.

16th. I called at the President's, and read to him my drafts of an answer to Luriottis, the Greek Agent, and of an instruction concerning it to R. Rush, both which he approved. Mr. Jackson, the British Commissioner under the Slave Indemnity Convention, has at length arrived at New York.

19th. I received a letter from Judge Johnson, of South Carolina, enclosing a printed copy of his decision upon a habeas corpus in the case of a British subject named Elkison, a colored man imprisoned under an Act of South Carolina, which he declares to be unconstitutional. Mr. Canning remonstrated against this Act last winter, and we were assured it should sleep. I sent Judge Johnson's letter to the President.

QUINCY, 25th.—Just at one we arrived at my father's house, and I was deeply affected at meeting him. Within the two last years since I had seen him, his eyesight has grown dim, and his limbs stiff and feeble. He is bowed with age, and scarcely can walk across a room without assistance.

BOSTON, *September* 3d.—I called with Mr. Cruft upon Stewart, the painter, and engaged him to go out to Quincy and there paint a portrait of my father. More than twenty years have passed since he painted the former portrait, and time has wrought so much of change on his countenance that I wish to possess a likeness of him as he now is. Stewart started some objections of trivial difficulties—the want of an easel, of a room properly adapted to the light; but finally promised

that he would go, and take with him his best brush, to paint a picture of affection, and of curiosity for future times.

4th. Dined at General H. A. S. Dearborn's, at Brinley Place, Roxbury. There was a company of about thirty men, among whom Colonel Hayne, the Senator, and Mr. Archer—Crowninshield, Silsbee, and Sprague, of Salem. There was at table a conversation, chiefly between Colonel Hayne and George Blake, upon a decision of Judge Johnson's, of the United States Supreme Court, pronouncing an Act of the Legislature of South Carolina unconstitutional, in which Hayne discovered so much excitement and temper that it became painful, and necessary to change the topic. It was the Act prohibiting free persons of color from coming or being brought into the State as sailors, upon penalties, among which are their being sold as slaves.

9th. This morning a pamphlet was published purporting to be by Ephraim May Cunningham, son of the late William Cunningham, of Fitchburg. It is a correspondence between my father and William Cunningham, partly written in 1804 and partly in 1808–9 and 1810. It contains a number of letters written at those respective times by my father, with his characteristic frankness, and under the excitement of different feelings at the different periods. The malignity of the publication consists in its being now made for the purpose of injuring me, by exciting personal enmities against me among leading men of both parties and their families and friends. There is an introduction of venomous bitterness, well written, and attributed to the pen of Jonathan Russell,[1] who, together with Mr. Crawford, has the credit of contributing to bring it forth. How far this is true I have not evidence sufficient clearly to ascertain. On or about the 8th of May last William Cunningham shot himself. In June, Mr. Bailey received a letter from Dr. Bates, intimating that a correspondence was to be published which was to blast my reputation and my father's. In August, Dr. Waterhouse wrote me that Governor Eustis was making efforts, well meant,

[1] This is believed not to be correct. The preface has been attributed to a citizen of Charlestown, who, like the son who inherited and furnished the papers, was, soon after the election of General Jackson, provided with place in the Boston Custom-House.

no doubt, but, if so, very injudicious, to suppress the publication. The newspapers of Mr. Crawford's scape-gibbets began to let out the secret of the mine that was to blow me up. And since I have been here, the publication has been letting out whiffs of smoke from day to day till the great explosion of this morning. And, blessed be God! here I am, sound wind and limb, neither better nor worse for the Cunningham correspondence.

QUINCY, 11th.—My father had been sitting to Stewart, the painter, and he told me that he would make a picture of it that should be admired as long as the materials would hold together.

WASHINGTON, *November* 7th.—Cabinet meeting at the President's from half-past one till four. Mr. Calhoun, Secretary of War, and Mr. Southard, Secretary of the Navy, present. The subject for consideration was, the confidential proposals of the British Secretary of State, George Canning, to R. Rush, and the correspondence between them relating to the projects of the Holy Alliance upon South America. There was much conversation, without coming to any definite point. The object of Canning appears to have been to obtain some public pledge from the Government of the United States, ostensibly against the forcible interference of the Holy Alliance between Spain and South America; but really or especially against the acquisition to the United States themselves of any part of the Spanish-American possessions.[1]

Mr. Calhoun inclined to giving a discretionary power to Mr. Rush to join in a declaration against the interference of the Holy Allies, if necessary, even if it should pledge us not to take Cuba or the province of Texas; because the power of Great Britain being greater than ours to *seize* upon them, we should get the advantage of obtaining from her the same declaration we should make ourselves.

I thought the cases not parallel. We have no intention of

[1] Mr. Rush's dispatch of the 23d of August, relating to this subject, was introduced into the volume entitled by him "The Court of London from 1819 to 1825," together with many details of an interesting nature. This volume was republished by his son in London in 1873.

seizing either Texas or Cuba. But the inhabitants of either or both may exercise their primitive rights, and solicit a union with us. They will certainly do no such thing to Great Britain. By joining with her, therefore, in her proposed declaration, we give her a substantial and perhaps inconvenient pledge against ourselves, and really obtain nothing in return. Without entering now into the enquiry of the expediency of our annexing Texas or Cuba to our Union, we should at least keep ourselves free to act as emergencies may arise, and not tie ourselves down to any principle which might immediately afterwards be brought to bear against ourselves.

Mr. Southard inclined much to the same opinion.

The President was averse to any course which should have the appearance of taking a position subordinate to that of Great Britain, and suggested the idea of sending a special Minister to *protest* against the interposition of the Holy Alliance.

I observed that it was a question for separate consideration, whether we ought in any event, if invited, to attend at a Congress of the allies on this subject.

Mr. Calhoun thought we ought in no case to attend.

The President, referring to instructions given before the Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle declaring that we would, if invited, attend no meeting relative to South America of which less than its entire independence should be the object, intimated that a similar limitation might be assumed now.

I remarked that we had then not recognized the South American independence ourselves. We would have been willing to recognize it in concert with the European allies, and therefore would have readily attended, if invited, a meeting of which that should have been the object. We could not now have the same motive. We *have* recognized them. We are very sure there will be now no meeting of the allies with that object. There would, therefore, be no use or propriety in resorting to the same limitation. Our refusal to attend should be less explicit and unqualified.

To this the President readily assented.

I remarked that the communications recently received from the Russian Minister, Baron Tuyl, afforded, as I thought, a

very suitable and convenient opportunity for us to take our stand against the Holy Alliance, and at the same time to decline the overture of Great Britain. It would be more candid, as well as more dignified, to avow our principles explicitly to Russia and France, than to come in as a cock-boat in the wake of the British man-of-war.

This idea was acquiesced in on all sides, and my draft for an answer to Baron Tuyl's note announcing the Emperor's determination to refuse receiving any Minister from the South American Governments was read.

Mr. Calhoun objected to two words as sarcastic—the word "*Christian*" annexed to independent nations, and the words "*of peace*" added to the word Minister.

I told him, laughing, that all the point of my note was in those two words, as my object was to put the Emperor in the wrong in the face of the world as much as possible.

The President proposed one or two other alterations, but after examination did not insist upon them. But it was thought the best method of making the profession of our principles would be in answering that part of Baron Tuyl's communication to me which was verbal—the intimation of the Emperor's hope that we should continue to observe neutrality in the contest between Spain and South America. It was proposed that I should in my written answer to the Baron's written note introduce a commentary upon the verbal part of his conferences. The discussion continued till four o'clock, when Mr. Calhoun had an engagement, and the meeting broke up without coming to any conclusion.

I remained with the President, and observed to him that the answer to be given to Baron Tuyl, the instructions to Mr. Rush relative to the proposals of Mr. Canning, those to Mr. Middleton at St. Petersburg, and those to the Minister who must be sent to France, must all be parts of a combined system of policy and adapted to each other; in which he fully concurred. I added that as Baron Tuyl had made one part of his communications written and another verbal, if I should answer the whole in one written note it might place him personally in an awkward predicament. My official intercourse with the Baron

had always been of the friendliest character, and I was desirous of observing with him all the forms of courtesy and kindness.

The President then proposed that I should confine my written answer to the purport of the Baron's written note, and see the Baron again upon the verbal part of his communication. This course I shall accordingly take. I told the President I would see the Baron before sending him my written answer. I would then say that, having informed the President of what had passed between us at our recent conferences, he had approved the verbal answer that I had given to the Baron, and had directed me to add that, receiving in friendly part the expression of the Emperor's wish that the United States may continue to observe the neutrality announced on their recognition of the South American Governments, he wished the Baron to state to his Government, in return, the desire of that of the United States that the Emperor, on his part, should continue to observe the same neutrality. The Baron would make this the subject of a dispatch to his Government, which I presume he would, according to his custom, show me before sending it off; and I could commit the substance of all these conferences to writing in the form of a report to the President. Of all this he approved.

The discussion at the Cabinet meeting took a wide range. It was observed that Mr. Canning had not disclosed to Mr. Rush the special facts upon which he expected there would be a Congress to settle the affairs of South America, and Mr. Calhoun expressed some surprise that Mr. Rush did not appear to have made of him any enquiries on that point.

I observed that I was rather glad of the objection of the British Government to the *preliminary* recognition, as I should be sorry that we should be *committed* upon Canning's propositions, even so far as we might have been, by Mr. Rush on his own responsibility.

Calhoun wondered what could be the objection of Great Britain to the recognition.

I said there were two reasons: one, the aversion to fly directly in the face of the Holy Alliance; and, secondly, the engagements of her treaties with Spain, particularly that of 5th July, 1814.

Calhoun and Southard thought that Great Britain would in no event take a stand against the Holy Alliance on South American affairs unless sure of our co-operation. She could not be belligerent leaving us neutral, because it must throw the whole commerce of the adverse party into our hands. It was the opinion of us all that a Minister must immediately be sent to France.

The President read a copy of his letter to A. Gallatin urging him, 15th October, to return, and of Gallatin's answer, saying that he cannot go this winter, but promising to be here about the middle of this month. I left with the President several papers this day received, among which, one from Mr. Constancio, the ex-Consul and Chargé d'Affaires from Portugal, soliciting the pardon of a man named Cartacho, just convicted of piracy at Richmond. So we have now two persons claiming to act as Chargé d'Affaires from Portugal. On returning to the office, I sent to Baron Tuyl requesting him to call at my office to-morrow at one.

8th. I found Baron de Tuyl waiting for me at the office. I told him that I had submitted to the President the note from him declaring the Emperor's determination not to receive any Minister or Agent from any of the South American States, to which I should shortly send him an answer. I had also reported to the President the substance of our verbal conferences; of what had been said by him, and of my answers; that the President had directed me to say that he approved of my answers as far as they had gone, and to add that he received the observations of the Russian Government relating to the neutrality of the United States in the contest between Spain and the independent States of South America amicably, and in return for them wished him to express to his Court the hope of the Government of the United States that Russia would on her part also continue to observe the same neutrality. After some conversation, the Baron desired me to repeat what I had said, that he might perfectly understand me. I repeated, accordingly, what I had said. He observed that he should immediately prepare a dispatch to his Government relating the purport of this conversation, and would send it

to my house to-morrow, to be perfectly sure of its accuracy; requesting me to make any observations upon it that I should think advisable. I promised that I would; and this was exactly the course which I told the President I expected the affair would take.

I had also received a note from the President just before I met the Baron, in which he had suggested the idea of enquiring of the Baron what was the import of the term "political principles" in his note. I accordingly asked him. He said they were used in the instructions of the Government to him, and he understood them to have reference to the right of supremacy of Spain over her Colonies. I had so understood them myself, and had not entertained a moment's doubt as to their meaning. The Baron observed I had told him my answer to his note would probably not be of a nature to require a reply, and then he reminded me of my engagement to refer it for further advisement, whether, and how, the correspondence should be published. I said I remembered it, and still believed my answer to his note would require no reply; but of that he would himself judge. I told him the substance of what my answer would be: an acknowledgment of the receipt of his note; a statement that we had received and sent Ministers and Agents in our intercourse with the independent South American states, and should continue to do the same; regretting that the Emperor's political principles had not yet led his Government to the same conclusion. I saw by the Baron's countenance that he was not a little affected at this statement. He took leave of me, however, in perfect good humor.

9th. I received from Baron Tuyl the draft of his dispatch, and, after perusal, returned it to him with a confidential note and two observations.

10th. Mr. Addington called, and I read to him the dispatches from R. Rush, containing his correspondence with G. Canning on the subject of South America and the Holy Allies. He told me he had received a letter from New York mentioning that the four British seamen, for the discharge of whom he had applied, had been released, and he thanked me for the promptitude with which the subject had been attended to.

Mr. William Taylor, Consul at Vera Cruz, and lately returned from Mexico, called. He gave me an account of affairs in that country, and particularly of the French Agent who went there last winter, and who, he says, has been intriguing there to prevail upon them to set up a Prince of the House of Bourbon. When Taylor left Mexico, this man charged him with two packets of letters, which he said related solely to affairs of commerce; but which Taylor had no doubt related to his political agency. He (Taylor) indirectly let the Government know that he was charged with these packets—one addressed to the Consul-General here, Petry, and the other to the French Consul at Philadelphia. When Taylor reached Vera Cruz, the Director commanding there sent to demand the delivery to him of these packets, giving him notice that if he should refuse to deliver them he would not be permitted to ship his trunk. He therefore did deliver them up. I doubt whether he ought to have taken them at all. I received a note from Baron Tuyl enclosing copies of his two dispatches; a note also from the President, proposing a modification of my answer to the Baron's note. I think also of proposing another modification.

11th. At the office, Mr. Deabbate, the Sardinian Consul, came for an answer to his application for the abolition of discriminating duties upon Sardinian vessels and merchandise imported in them into the ports of the United States. This person has been now about four years endeavoring to obtain this, and has used various means of the winding-stair class to accomplish his end; first, by an artful and deceptive correspondence, at the close of which I explicitly stated to him, in October last year, that to entitle Sardinian vessels, with their cargoes, to be put upon the footing of our own, under a proclamation of the President, by virtue of the Act of Congress of 3d March, 1815, it would be necessary for him to obtain an authentic declaration from the Sardinian Government that there are no discriminating duties levied in the Sardinian dominions to the disadvantage of vessels of the United States. Now, after the lapse of more than a year, he delivers me a pompous declaration authenticated by the Marquis de la Tour,

the Sardinian Minister of Foreign Affairs, and claims a proclamation from the President, conformably to the notice I had given. I was not a little surprised, in reading this declaration, to find that it did not assert the non-existence of discriminating duties upon Sardinian shipping in the Sardinian ports; but only that there was no difference of duties upon merchandise imported, whether in Sardinian or American vessels. I told Mr. Deabbate that this was not sufficient to justify the issuing of the proclamation, and in the course of the discussion that ensued he admitted that there was a discriminating tonnage duty of twenty sols levied upon foreign vessels in Sardinia, which he said was no inequality, because the foreign vessels made longer voyages, and the Sardinians paid the tonnage three or four times to their once.

This way of doing business I suppose the Italians call "finesse." I told Mr. Deabbate that the Act of Congress of 3d March, 1815, and all its dependencies, would expire at the end of this year, and that Congress must act upon it at an early period of their approaching session. The Act might be modified, but it would be of no use to abolish the discriminating duties upon Sardinian vessels merely for the term of fifty days that the law was yet to last. Nor could it in any event be done while any discriminating tonnage duty, be it ever so small, should be levied upon American vessels in Sardinia. He said he believed then he might as well return to Philadelphia to-morrow.

I took my budget of papers to the President's, and was with him nearly two hours. I first reported to him my last conference with the Russian Minister, Baron Tuyl, and read to him the copies of the Baron's two dispatches to his Government, which he furnished me according to my request. I then suggested the new modification of the answer to the Baron's note which I proposed; leaving out entirely the expression of regret—which he approved. I laid before him a number of papers upon various other subjects, the decision upon all which he postponed for the present. Among the rest were all the recommendations and applications for appointments as Secretary of Legation to the South American mission. He con-

cluded to see Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Wirt before he fixed upon his choice.

13th. Morning occupied in making a draft of minutes for the message of the President upon subjects under the direction of the Department of State. I took to the President's my draft of minutes and copies of the instructions to R. Rush dispatched last summer. I read and left my draft with him. I find him yet altogether unsettled in his own mind as to the answer to be given to Mr. Canning's proposals, and alarmed, far beyond anything that I could have conceived possible, with the fear that the Holy Alliance are about to restore immediately all South America to Spain. Calhoun stimulates the panic, and the news that Cadiz has surrendered to the French has so affected the President that he appeared entirely to despair of the cause of South America. He will recover from this in a few days; but I never saw more indecision in him. We discussed the proposals of Canning, and I told him if he would decide either to accept or decline them, I would draft a dispatch conformable to either decision for his consideration. He said he would talk further about it to-morrow.

15th. I received a note from Mr. D. Brent, saying that the President wished to see me at the office at noon. I went, and found him there. He asked for the correspondence relating to the intercourse with the British American Colonies, with a view to the particular notice which he intends to take of it in the message; which I thought should have been only in general terms. He also showed me two letters which he had received—one from Mr. Jefferson, 23d October, and one from Mr. Madison of 30th October, giving their opinions on the proposals of Mr. Canning. The President had sent them the two dispatches from R. Rush of 23d and 28th August, enclosing the correspondence between Canning and him, and requested their opinions on the proposals. Mr. Jefferson thinks them more important than anything that has happened since our Revolution. He is for acceding to the proposals, with a view to pledging Great Britain against the Holy Allies; though he thinks the island of Cuba would be a valuable and important acquisition to our Union. Mr. Madison's opinions are less

decisively pronounced, and he thinks, as I do, that this movement on the part of Great Britain is impelled more by her interest than by a principle of general liberty.

At one I attended the Cabinet meeting at the President's. He read a note from Mr. Crawford saying he was not well enough to attend, but hoped to be out on Monday. Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Southard were there; Mr. Wirt absent at Baltimore. The subject of Mr. Canning's proposals was resumed, and I soon found the source of the President's despondency with regard to South American affairs. Calhoun is perfectly moon-struck by the surrender of Cadiz, and says the Holy Allies, with ten thousand men, will restore all Mexico and all South America to the Spanish dominion.

I did not deny that they might make a temporary impression for three, four, or five years, but I no more believe that the Holy Allies will restore the Spanish dominion upon the American continent than that the Chimborazo will sink beneath the ocean. But, I added, if the South Americans were really in a state to be so easily subdued, it would be but a more forcible motive for us to beware of involving ourselves in their fate. I set this down as one of Calhoun's extravaganzas. He is for plunging into a war to prevent that which, if his opinion of it is correct, we are utterly unable to prevent. He is for embarking our lives and fortunes in a ship which he declares the very rats have abandoned. Calhoun reverts again to his idea of giving discretionary power to our Minister to accede to all Canning's proposals, if necessary, and not otherwise. After much discussion, I said I thought we should bring the whole answer to Mr. Canning's proposals to a test of right and wrong. Considering the South Americans as independent nations, they themselves, and no other nation, had the *right* to dispose of their condition. *We* have no right to dispose of them, either alone or in conjunction with other nations. Neither have any other nations the right of disposing of them without their consent. This principle will give us a clue to answer all Mr. Canning's questions with candor and confidence. And I am — to draft a dispatch accordingly.

The President then said that he inclined to appoint Mr.

James Brown, of Louisiana, to go as Minister to France, though he had hitherto given him no intimation to that effect. Mr. Brown's character and qualifications were discussed. Calhoun said he had genius, but was timid. Southard said he was indolent. His rheumatism, his fortune, and his showy wife were not forgotten. The President spoke of sending an Envoy Extraordinary, with no special destination, but with power to act as occasion might require, with reference to these proposals of Mr. Canning, and to any emergency concerning South America. The ostensible motive for the appointment might be as a colleague with R. Rush in the negotiations now committed to him alone. The measure itself was generally approved, but the selection of the person caused much rambling conversation. Calhoun, who in all his movements of every kind has an eye to himself, named Mason, of New Hampshire, De Witt Clinton, Judge Thompson, Mr. Ingham, and Edward Livingston. I mentioned Governor Woodbury and Mr. Forsyth. Mr. Southard spoke of J. Sergeant, Binney, and Hopkinson. The President named Mr. Baldwin. The pro and con for them all was set forth. Federalism was the principal objection to most of them. The President also spoke of Mr. Sanford and Judge Van Ness, of New York, and finally said he wished Mr. Madison would go. From that moment I thought of no other person. I observed the only question was whether it could be proposed to him. And I urged the President seriously to think of it; which he promised he would. I entreated him, above all things, not to appoint an incompetent person. There are objections to Mr. Madison's going, of which he himself and the President are not only the best but the only proper judges. If he would go, there could be no man better suited for the appointment.

16th. I received a very large mail of dispatches—among the rest two more, 334 and 336, from R. Rush, concerning Mr. Canning's proposal. There are two intermediate still to be received. By the last, Mr. Canning's tone appears to be changed, and Mr. Rush writes under feelings of disappointment, and having partly discovered the views of Great Britain.

17th. I drafted a dispatch to R. Rush in answer to all his

dispatches relating to the proposals of G. Canning concerning South America. At the office. The President there. He appears to be still perplexed with the British Colonial Trade question, the arrangements concerning which had entirely escaped his memory. I referred him to my dispatch to R. Rush, No. 64, of which he has a copy, but which he has not read. The President thinks from the tenor of the dispatches received yesterday from R. Rush that Canning had changed his purpose; that he was less alarmed; that probably some inducements had been presented, after the triumph of the French in Spain, to quiet his apprehensions. My own opinion is confirmed that the alarm was affected; that the object was to obtain by a sudden movement a premature commitment of the American Government against any transfer of the island of Cuba to France, or the acquisition of it by ourselves; and, failing in that point, he has returned to the old standard of British belligerent policy. I read to the President and gave him my draft of a dispatch to R. Rush. He desired me to write to Mr. James Brown, of Louisiana, and propose to him the mission to France; and to Mr. Larned, of Rhode Island, for the appointment of Secretary of Legation to Chili.

Mr. Addington called at the office, and mentioned that he had private letters from England confirming the accounts in the newspapers that British Consular Agents had been appointed to the various ports of the South American Governments. I told him I had received further dispatches from Mr. Rush in relation to the negotiation with Mr. Canning concerning South American affairs—that it had rested where it was, Mr. Rush not feeling himself authorized to accede to Mr. Canning's proposals without a preliminary recognition by Great Britain of the independence of the South American States, and the British Government not yet being prepared for that step. I said I could not readily imagine what could withhold Great Britain from the formal recognition, when her measures all implied that it had been given; and I added that, earnestly desirous as we were of co-operating with Great Britain, I saw no other basis for concerted operations than that.

Addington said that he did not know what the motives could

be. He thought it very probable that before my instructions could get out to Mr. Rush, Great Britain would have acknowledged some one or other of the South American Governments as independent. Perhaps, as possessing Colonies herself, and especially as some of her Colonies appeared to be in a very bad and turbulent humor, she might be less ready to acknowledge the independence of other Colonies. "Suppose, for instance," said he, "that the island of Cuba should take advantage of the present state of things and declare itself independent. The United States might have no objection to recognizing that independence, but with Great Britain, having Colonies of her own, it might be otherwise."

I said that the question as to the independence of Cuba not having yet arisen, I saw no reason for anticipating it for the sake of argument. On the existing state of things the basis for co-operation should be laid, and then, whatever events time might bring forth, it would be easy to accommodate a concerted movement to them. At least I supposed Great Britain must be prepared to say that in no event should Cuba be transferred to France.

"Oh, certainly!" said he.

Baron Tuyl, the Russian Minister, had written me this morning a note requesting an interview, and by appointment now came. I therefore deferred to a future day further conversation with Mr. Addington. The Baron came, and read me a dispatch from Count Nesselrode to him, and extracts from two others, of 29th and 30th August and 2d September last. The dispatch was merely a statement that the Emperor Alexander was just leaving St. Petersburg for a tour of three months for the inspection of his troops. It appears to guard very anxiously against any suspicion that he intended by it any hostile movement. It was doubtless a circular chiefly destined for European Courts, and sent *pro formâ* here. The first extract was an acknowledgment of the receipt of the Baron's first dispatches from hence; high expressions of satisfaction at his conduct here; at the reception he had met with; at the consent of this Government to treat of the Northwest Coast question at St. Petersburg; intimations that Sir Charles Bagot

had also received powers to treat concerning it on the part of Great Britain, and that Mr. Poletica was authorized to enter upon the negotiation during Count Nesselrode's absence with the Emperor.

The second extract was an exposition of principles relating to the affairs of Spain and Portugal, in a tone of passionate exultation at the counter-revolution in Portugal and the impending success of the French army in Spain; an "Io Triumphe" over the fallen cause of revolution, with sturdy promises of determination to keep it down; disclaimers of all intention of making conquests; bitter complaints of being calumniated, and one paragraph of compunctions, acknowledging that an apology is yet due to mankind for the invasion of Spain, which it is in the power only of Ferdinand to furnish, by making his people happy.

That paragraph is a satire upon all the rest of the paper. The Baron left the two extracts with me to be shown to the President. He assured me that he was perfectly satisfied with my answer to his last note, which he had received this morning; and he spoke with great kindness and good will towards us. I told him I could assure him, from the knowledge I had of the President's sentiments, that they reposed great personal confidence in him. He said he should always endeavor to deserve it.

18th. Mr. G. Hay was here with the letter from the Slave-Indemnity Commissioners, and some questions which I was not able to answer. He spoke also of the dispatches last received from Mr. Rush, and their effect upon the President. He said the President appeared to be much relieved by the view I had taken of them yesterday. I think he is yet alarmed more than will appear to be necessary. I took to the President's the two extracts of dispatches left with me by Baron Tuyl, which I read to him. Mr. Calhoun was there, and Mr. Southard came in shortly afterwards. Mr. Calhoun said he was confirmed in the view he had taken of the designs of the Holy Allies upon South America. I said I was quite confirmed in mine. The President appears yet to be in an extraordinary degree of dejection. There must be something that affects him besides the European news. I read to him two

letters from Governor Cass, of the Michigan Territory: one, with a list of legislative Council to be picked; the other, about Drummond's Island. He spoke to me also about General Hull's claim, and asked me to see the Comptroller, Anderson, concerning it. I wrote, by the President's direction, to James Brown, Senator from Louisiana, now at Philadelphia, proposing to him the mission to France; and to Samuel Larned, at Providence, whom he has determined to appoint Secretary to the Legation to Chili.

19th. Dr. Thornton called on me this morning and left me some papers, written for publication in the National Intelligencer, against a Congressional caucus for the Presidential election; but the editors declined printing them. Strong objections against this mode of designating a candidate for the Presidency have lately arisen; but there is no provision of the Constitution against it, and the friends of that candidate who find themselves the most numerous in Congress will hold caucuses so long as the people will bear them out in it by electing him whom they recommend. Nothing will put it down but failure of success; and, although it is in its essence caballing, I consider it as one of the least obnoxious modes of intrigue. It is said the intention of Mr. Crawford's friends is to precipitate a caucus at the commencement of the ensuing session of Congress, with a view to forestall the movements of the State Legislatures, and of the people, in his favor. The organization of his party is stronger than that of any other candidate, having already been formed in 1816, before the first election of Mr. Monroe. This is the reason of the great reliance which his friends place upon a caucus. There is now the greatest probability that his caucus will succeed; but if his Administration should prove an unpopular one, the caucus appointment will eventually recoil upon him.

Mr. Addington came to make further enquiries concerning the proposals of Mr. Canning to Mr. Rush. I had an hour's conversation with him, and further explained to him that we could move in concert with Great Britain upon South American affairs only upon the basis of their acknowledged independence. I took to the President my drafts of a letter to Mr.

Salazar, the Colombian Minister, and of a general instruction to H. Allen, the newly-appointed Minister to Chili. Left them with him. He said he had read my No. 64 to Mr. Rush, and should not vary much from my sketch upon the Colonial trade subject.

20th. At the office I received a note from the President, proposing large alterations to my draft of instructions to R. Rush upon Canning's proposals concerning South American affairs. Some of the alterations were unexceptionable; others I wished him further to consider. I called at his house, but he was out riding. He afterwards came to the office. I stated my objections to some of his proposed alterations of my draft, and suggested to him the substance of a substitute which I wished to offer to his projected paragraph. He agreed that I should draft a substitute, and proposed a meeting of the Administration to-morrow. He had adopted Mr. Calhoun's idea of giving Mr. Rush a discretionary power to act jointly with the British Government in case of any sudden emergency of danger, of which they and he should judge. I am utterly averse to this; and I told him that I thought the instructions should be explicit, authorizing him distinctly to act in specified contingencies, and requiring him in all others to refer for every important measure to his Government.

21st. Mr. Banks called here this morning with Mr. Patterson, of Baltimore. I told him the President thought it most advisable to appoint a native citizen as Consul at Jamaica. He said a native citizen could do no business there, and the Consular fees would not pay for his stationery. I asked him why a citizen of the United States would not be permitted to do business there. He said he would be held a transient person, and they were not allowed to do business. I said it was strange that a Consul acknowledged as such should be held a transient person, and as such forbidden from doing business.

I found in this gentleman the same peremptory tone which is common among Englishmen when discussing political topics with Americans, and I was compelled, most reluctantly, to assume a similar tone myself. He then became more courteous, and promised to send me some papers concerning the trade of

Jamaica. He said they imported from the United States a hundred thousand barrels of flour a year, and that they would not suffer the Parliament to make laws for the Colony.

Mr. Gallatin called upon me, just arrived from Pennsylvania. It has been said he was to pass the winter here; but he says he comes only for a few days, to settle his accounts and some private affairs of his own. He said a half outfit having, as he had heard, been allowed to Mr. Clay for his share in the negotiation of the Convention of 3d July, 1815, he thought himself entitled to make the same claim. I told him I would mention it to the President for his consideration. He made enquiries if we had any news from Europe; and I told him what is now passing in our diplomatic relations with Great Britain and Russia. He made some remarks upon them, full of his usual shrewdness and sagacity. I had received a note from the President requesting me to attend a meeting of the members of the Administration at one. The meeting lasted till five. I took with me the draft of my dispatch to R. Rush in answer to Canning's proposals, with the President's projected amendments and my proposal of amendment upon amendment. We had a very long discussion upon one phrase, which seemed to me to require none at all. The sentiment expressed was, that although we should throw no impediment in the way of an arrangement between Spain and her ex-Colonies by *amicable negotiation*, we should claim to be treated by the South Americans upon the footing of equal favor with the most favored nation. The President had proposed a modifying amendment, which seemed to admit that we should not object to an arrangement by which special favors, or even a restoration of authority, might be conceded to Spain. To this I strenuously objected, as did Mr. Calhoun. The President ultimately acceded to the substance of the phrase as I had in the first instance made the draft; but finally required that the phraseology of it should be varied. Almost all the other amendments proposed by the President were opposed principally by Mr. Calhoun, who most explicitly preferred my last substituted paragraph to the President's projected amendment. The President did not insist upon any of his amendments which were not admitted by gen-

eral consent, and the final paper, though considerably varied from my original draft, will be conformable to my own views. The supplementary instruction I had not finished, but read the part that I had prepared.

I mentioned also my wish to prepare a paper to be delivered confidentially to Baron Tuyl, and the substance of which I would in the first instance express to him in a verbal conference. It would refer to the verbal communications recently made by him, and to the sentiments and dispositions manifested in the extract of a dispatch relating to Spanish affairs which he lately put into my hands. My purpose would be in a moderate and conciliatory manner, but with a firm and determined spirit, to declare our dissent from the principles avowed in those communications; to assert those upon which our own Government is founded, and, while disclaiming all intention of attempting to propagate them by force, and all interference with the political affairs of Europe, to declare our expectation and hope that the European powers will equally abstain from the attempt to spread their principles in the American hemisphere, or to subjugate by force any part of these continents to their will.

The President approved of this idea; and then taking up the sketches that he had prepared for his message, read them to us. Its introduction was in a tone of deep solemnity and of high alarm, intimating that this country is menaced by imminent and formidable dangers, such as would probably soon call for their most vigorous energies and the closest union. It then proceeded to speak of the foreign affairs, chiefly according to the sketch I had given him some days since, but with occasional variations. It then alluded to the recent events in Spain and Portugal, speaking in terms of the most pointed reprobation of the late invasion of Spain by France, and of the principles upon which it was undertaken by the open avowal of the King of France. It also contained a broad acknowledgment of the Greeks as an independent nation, and a recommendation to Congress to make an appropriation for sending a Minister to them.

Of all this Mr. Calhoun declared his approbation. I ex-

pressed as freely my wish that the President would reconsider the whole subject before he should determine to take that course. I said the tone of the introduction I apprehended would take the nation by surprise and greatly alarm them. It would come upon them like a clap of thunder. There had never been in the history of this nation a period of so deep calm and tranquillity as we now enjoyed. We never were, upon the whole, in a state of peace so profound and secure with all foreign nations as at this time. This message would be a summons to arms—to arms against all Europe, and for objects of policy exclusively European—Greece and Spain. It would be as new, too, in our policy as it would be surprising. For more than thirty years Europe had been in convulsions; every nation almost of which it is composed alternately invading and invaded. Empires, kingdoms, principalities, had been overthrown, revolutionized, and counter-revolutionized, and we had looked on safe in our distance beyond an intervening ocean, and avowing a total forbearance to interfere in any of the combinations of European politics. This message would at once buckle on the harness and throw down the gauntlet. It would have the air of open defiance to all Europe, and I should not be surprised if the first answer to it from Spain and France, and even Russia, should be to break off their diplomatic intercourse with us. I did not expect that the quiet which we had enjoyed for six or seven years would last much longer. The aspect of things was portentous; but if we must come to an issue with Europe, let us keep it off as long as possible. Let us use all possible means to carry the opinion of the nation with us, and the opinion of the world.

Calhoun said that he thought there was not the tranquillity that I spoke of; that there was great anxiety in the thinking part of the nation; that there was a general expectation that the Holy Alliance would employ force against South America, and that it would be proper that the President should sound the alarm to the nation. A time was approaching when all its energies would be needed, and the public mind ought to be prepared for it.

The President told us confidentially that G. W. Erving had

written praying that it might be kept secret, because whatever any person wrote there was reported back against him, but that, whatever might be reported here, we might set it down for certain that France and the allies would support Spain in the attempt to recover her Colonies by force.

I observed to the President that I put very little reliance on anything written by G. W. Erving. It might or might not eventuate as he said; but he knew nothing about the matter more than was known to the world, and had views of his own in whatever he wrote.

Mr. Southard said little, but inclined towards my view of the subject.

The President finally said that he would draw up two sketches for consideration, conformable to the two different aspects of the subject. The President and Mr. Calhoun intimated the idea that there was a material difference in the wars and revolutions which since the year 1789 to this time have been raging in Europe, and this last invasion of Spain by France; that this was a more direct attack upon the popular principle; and that although no former message ever censured those overthrows and conquests before, yet it might be very proper to censure this now. The question, however, is deferred.

22d. I finished the draft of my second dispatch to R. Rush upon Canning's proposals. And there must be yet a third. I also began a written statement of what has passed between Baron de Tuyl and me concerning the intentions of the Russian Cabinet, with a view to transmit copies of it and of the documents to Mr. Middleton and Mr. Rush. Mr. Gallatin was with the President, but withdrew on my going in. I left with the President my draft for a second dispatch to R. Rush on South American affairs. And I spoke to him again urging him to abstain from everything in his message which the Holy Allies could make a pretext for construing into aggression upon them. I said there were considerations of weight which I could not even easily mention at a Cabinet meeting. If he had determined to retire from the public service at the end of his present term, it was now drawing to a close. It was to be considered now as a whole, and a system of administration for

a definite term of years. It would hereafter, I believed, be looked back to as the golden age of this republic, and I felt an extreme solicitude that its end might correspond with the character of its progress; that the Administration might be delivered into the hands of the successor, whoever he might be, at peace and in amity with all the world. If this could not be, if the Holy Alliance were determined to make up an issue with us, it was our policy to meet, and not to make it. We should retreat to the wall before taking to arms, and be sure at every step to put them as much as possible in the wrong. I said if the Holy Alliance really intended to restore by force the Colonies of Spain to her dominion, it was questionable to me whether we had not, after all, been over-hasty in acknowledging the South American independence. It had pledged us now to take ground which we had not felt at all bound to take five years ago. At the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle the allies had discussed what they should do with South America, and we had not even thought of interfering with them. If they intend now to interpose by force, we shall have as much as we can do to prevent them, without going to bid them defiance in the heart of Europe. Something had been said yesterday, that if the President did not recommend the recognition of the independence of the Greeks it would be pressed in the House of Representatives. What would be Mr. Clay's course in this case I could not foresee. But he (the President) well knew that at the time when Mr. Clay so urgently pushed for the South American independence, his main object was popularity for himself and to embarrass the Administration. It did not appear that this object was now so important to him, and, as he had some prospect of coming to the succession himself, I should not suppose he would wish it encumbered with a quarrel with all Europe. But, be that as it may, it was infinitely better that the impulse should come from Congress than that it should go from the Executive. Congress are responsible for their own acts. Foreign powers are apt to take less notice of them than of Executive measures, and if they put us in attitudes of hostility with the allies, be the blame upon them. The ground that I wish to take is that of earnest remonstrance against the

interference of the European powers by force with South America, but to disclaim all interference on our part with Europe; to make an American cause, and adhere inflexibly to that.

The President said he had spoken of the Greeks and of the Spaniards in his last year's message. I said I should not object to paragraphs of a like description, in general terms and pledging nothing, but I would be specially careful to avoid anything which may be construed as hostility to the allies. He said he would fully consider what he should say, and when prepared with his draft would call a meeting of the members of the Administration.

24th. Mr. Gallatin was here, and talked much upon the topics to be touched upon in the President's message. His views coincided entirely with those which I have so earnestly urged upon the President, excepting as to the Greeks, to whom he proposes, as if he was serious, that we should send two or three frigates to assist them in destroying the Turkish fleet, and a loan or a subsidy of two millions of dollars. I told Gallatin that I wished he would talk to the President as he had done to me, upon everything except the Greeks; but as to them, I said, the President had asked me to see and converse with him on Saturday, which I had declined on account of the same proposition that he had made in a dispatch more than a year since, to send a naval force to fight with the Turks.

He spoke with extreme bitterness of Mr. Hyde de Neuville, who, he says, said to him in the presence of ten or twelve persons that if our claimants upon France failed of obtaining indemnity it was our own fault, in refusing to connect with it the claim of France under the eighth article of the Louisiana Convention; and that if we did not adjust that claim, it was his opinion France ought to take Louisiana, and that she had a strong party there.

I called at the President's, and found Mr. Gallatin with him. He still adhered to his idea of sending a naval force and a loan of money to the Greeks; and as he is neither an enthusiast nor a fool, and knows perfectly well that no such thing will be done, I look for the motives of this strange proposal, and find them

not very deeply laid. Mr. Gallatin still builds castles in the air of popularity, and, being under no responsibility for consequences, patronizes the Greek cause for the sake of raising his own reputation. His measure will not succeed, and, even if it should, all the burden and danger of it will bear not upon him, but upon the Administration, and he will be the great champion of Grecian liberty. 'Tis the part of Mr. Clay towards South America acted over again. After he withdrew, the President read me his paragraphs respecting the Greeks, Spain, Portugal, and South America. I thought them quite unexceptionable, and drawn up altogether in the spirit that I had so urgently pressed on Friday and Saturday. I was highly gratified at the change, and only hope the President will adhere to his present views.

25th. I made a draft of observations upon the communications recently received from the Baron de Tuyl, the Russian Minister. Took the paper, together with the statement I had prepared of what has passed between him and me, and all the papers received from him, to the President. I found General Swartwout, of New York, with him, but he immediately withdrew. Mr. Southard just then came in, and the President sent for the other members of the Administration, Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Wirt. Mr. Crawford continues convalescent, but was not well enough to attend. My proposal was that a paper like that which I had prepared, modified as the President should finally direct, be delivered by me to the Baron de Tuyl in the form of an inofficial verbal note; that I should invite him to a conference, then read the paper to him, deliver to him a copy of it, and tell him that I was willing to converse with him concerning it if he thought proper. The paper itself was drawn to correspond exactly with a paragraph of the President's message which he had read me yesterday, and which was entirely conformable to the system of policy which I have earnestly recommended for this emergency. It was also intended as a firm, spirited, and yet conciliatory answer to all the communications lately received from the Russian Government, and at the same time an unequivocal answer to the proposals made by Canning to Mr. Rush. It was meant also to be eventually an exposition of the principles

of this Government, and a brief development of its political system as henceforth to be maintained: essentially republican —maintaining its own independence, and respecting that of others; essentially pacific—studiously avoiding all involvement in the combinations of European politics, cultivating peace and friendship with the most absolute monarchies, highly appreciating and anxiously desirous of retaining that of the Emperor Alexander, but declaring that, having recognized the independence of the South American States, we could not see with indifference any attempt by European powers by forcible interposition either to restore the Spanish dominion on the American Continents or to introduce monarchical principles into those countries, or to transfer any portion of the ancient or present American possessions of Spain to any other European power.

This paper was read, and thereupon ensued a desultory discussion till near five o'clock, when the President adjourned the meeting till twelve o'clock to-morrow. Calhoun, with many professions of diffidence and doubt, but only to prompt discussion, questioned whether it would be proper to deliver *any* such paper to the Russian Minister. The paper contained rather an ostentatious display of republican principles; it was making up an issue, perhaps too soon, with the Holy Alliance. It would perhaps be offensive to the Emperor of Russia, and perhaps even to the British Government, which would by no means relish so much republicanism. He thought it would be sufficient to communicate to Baron Tuyl a copy of the paragraph of the President's message to which my paper was adapted. The message was a mere communication to our own people. Foreign powers might not feel themselves bound to notice what was said in that. It was like a family talking over subjects interesting to them by the fireside among themselves. Many things might be said there without offence, even if a stranger should come among them and overhear the conversation, which would be offensive if they went to his house to say them.

Southard and Wirt both observed that according to that allusion it was Russia, it was the Holy Alliance, who had

come to our house to proclaim the virtues and the glories of despotism; and my paper was nothing more than an answer to them.

Calhoun said he thought my paper went rather farther than theirs.

I observed that a copy of that paragraph of the President's message might suffice for an indication of our principles, but I thought it due to the honor and dignity of the nation that an explicit and direct answer should be given to the communications from the Russian Government. After receiving, one upon the back of another, so many broad hints from them, the people of this country, when they come to the knowledge of it, will ask what was said in answer to them. The answer to the written notification of the Emperor's determination not to receive any Minister from South America was the tamest of all State papers. The first draft of it had been softened first at a Cabinet meeting, then by an amended draft of the President, and finally by an amendment of mine upon that of the President. The answers to the notification of the Emperor's hope and wish that the United States would continue their neutrality between Spain and South America were merely verbal. We had no written vouchers of them but in the copies confidentially given by the Baron to me of his dispatches to his Court concerning them. Then came this last extract of 30th August, 1823, bearding us to our faces upon the monarchical principles of the Holy Alliance. It was time to tender them an issue. In the last resort, this was a cause to be pleaded before the world of mankind. Our country, and the world, would require that our ground should be distinctly taken, as well as resolutely maintained. Now, in my belief, was the time for taking it; and as I thought the Holy Alliance would not ultimately invade South America, and firmly believed that the Emperor Alexander did not mean to include us, or any consideration of us, in his invectives against revolution, I wished to give him an opportunity of disclaiming any such intention. I believed the Emperor Alexander was honestly wedded to his system; that he was profoundly penetrated with the conviction that he was laboring for the good of his people and for the welfare of

mankind. There was no man living more sensitive to public opinion, as I knew from a multitude of proofs, but which was eminently shown by the importance which the Government itself attached to the editorial article in the National Intelligencer, which, at the instance of the Baron de Tuyl, I had caused to be inserted, concerning the Northwest Coast question. My object in this paper was to appeal much to the personal feelings of the Emperor Alexander: to his love of peace; to his religious impressions; to his sensibility to public opinion; to his old friendly offices and good will towards the United States. I would search all these sources of action, and bring him either to a formal disavowal of any dispositions unfriendly to the United States, or to an express declaration of what his intentions are.

Calhoun's objections were not supported; but Mr. Wirt made a question far more important, and which I had made at a much earlier stage of these deliberations. It was, whether we shall be warranted in taking so broadly the ground of resistance to the interposition of the Holy Alliance by force to restore the Spanish dominion in South America. It is, and has been, to me a fearful question. It was not now discussed; but Mr. Wirt remarked upon the danger of assuming the attitude of menace without meaning to strike, and asked, if the Holy Allies *should* act in direct hostility against South America, whether this country would oppose them by war? My paper and the paragraph would certainly commit us as far as the Executive constitutionally could act on this point; and if we take this course, I should wish that a joint resolution of the two Houses of Congress should be proposed and adopted to the same purport. But this would render it necessary to communicate to them, at least confidentially, the existing state of things. The communications from Mr. Canning were all, at his own request, confidential. Those with Baron de Tuyl were yet so, but *he* was desirous that part of them should be published, and I was yet to settle with him whether they should be communicated to Congress. My wish was to propose to him that they should all be communicated, and also that the substance of them should be communicated to Mr. Greuhm, the Prussian

Minister here, for his Court; the King of Prussia being one of the members of the Holy Alliance.

The President did not finally decide upon the point of Mr. Calhoun's objection to the delivery of *any* paper to Baron Tuyl, but retained my draft and the statement of the transactions between the Baron and me, to resume the consideration of them to-morrow.

Mr. Wirt objected strongly to one paragraph of my draft, which, he said, was a hornet of a paragraph, and, he thought, would be excessively offensive.

I said it was the cream of my paper; but I am sure the President will not suffer it to pass. The President seemed to entertain some apprehension that the republicanism of my paper might indispose the British Government to a cordial concert of operations with us. He said they were in a dilemma between their anti-Jacobin policy, the dread of their internal reformers, which made them sympathize with the Holy Allies, and the necessities of their commerce and revenue, with the pressure of their debts and taxes, which compelled them to side with South American independence for the sake of South American trade. He believed they must ultimately take this side, but if we should shock and alarm them upon the political side of the question, and the Holy Allies could hold out to them anything to appease the craving of their commercial and fiscal interest, they might go back to the allies—as Portugal has gone back—insignificant and despised, but leaving us in the lurch, with all Europe against us.

I replied that, at all events, nothing that we should now do would commit us to absolute war; that Great Britain was already committed more than we; that the interest of no one of the allied powers would be promoted by the restoration of South America to Spain; that the interest of each one of them was against it, and that if they could possibly agree among themselves upon a partition principle, the only possible bait they could offer to Great Britain for acceding to it was Cuba, which neither they nor Spain would consent to give her; that my reliance upon the co-operation of Great Britain rested not upon her principles, but her interest—this I thought was clear;

but that my paper came in conflict with no principle which she would dare to maintain. We avowed republicanism, but we disclaimed propagandism; we asserted national independence, to which she was already fully pledged. We disavowed all interference with European affairs, and my whole paper was drawn up to come in conclusion precisely to the identical declaration of Mr. Canning himself, and to express our concurrence with it.

Mr. Southard and Mr. Wirt supported me in these remarks.

26th. Received a note from the President, advising me to detain Mr. H. Allen here a few days, to peruse the late dispatches from R. Rush relating to South America. I sent immediately for Mr. Allen, who called on me and agreed to wait a few days. I desired him to call at the office of the Department and read there Mr. Rush's dispatches.

I attended the adjourned Cabinet meeting at the President's, from half-past twelve—four hours. At the President's request, I read the statement of what has passed between Baron Tuyl and me since the 16th of last month, and then my proposed draft of observations upon the communications recently received from him. The President then read the draft of the corresponding paragraph for his message to Congress, and asked whether it should form part of the message. I took a review of the preceding transactions of the Cabinet meetings; remarking that the present questions had originated in a draft which he had presented merely for consideration, of an introduction to the message, of unusual solemnity, indicating extraordinary concern, and even alarm, at the existing state of things, coupled with two paragraphs, one containing strong and pointed censure upon France and the Holy Allies for the invasion of Spain, and the other recommending an appropriation for a Minister to send to the Greeks, and in substance recognizing them as independent; that the course now proposed is a substitute for that, and that it is founded upon the idea that if an issue must be made up between us and the Holy Alliance it ought to be upon grounds exclusively American; that we should separate it from all European concerns, disclaim all intention of interfering with these, and make

the stand altogether for an American cause; that at the same time the answer to be given to the Russian communications should be used as the means of answering also the proposals of Mr. George Canning, and of assuming the attitude to be maintained by the United States with reference to the designs of the Holy Alliance upon South America. This being premised, I observed that the whole of the papers now drawn up were but various parts of one system under consideration, and the only really important question to be determined, as it appeared to me, was that yesterday made by Mr. Wirt, and which had been incidentally discussed before, namely, whether we ought at all to take this attitude as regards South America; whether we get any advantage by committing ourselves to a course of opposition against the Holy Alliance. My own mind, indeed, is made up that we ought thus far to take this stand; but I thought it deserved great deliberation, and ought not to be taken without a full and serious estimate of consequences.

Mr. Wirt then resumed the objection he had taken yesterday, and freely enlarged upon it. He said he did not think this country would support the Government in a war for the independence of South America. There had never been much general excitement in their favor. Some part of the people of the interior had felt warmly for them, but it never had been general, and never had there been a moment when the people thought of supporting them by war. To menace without intending to strike was neither consistent with the honor nor the dignity of the country. It was possible that the proposals of Mr. Canning themselves were traps laid to ensnare us into public declarations against the Holy Allies, without intending even to take part against them; that if we were to be so far committed, all the documents ought to be communicated to Congress, and they ought to manifest their sentiments in the form of resolutions, and that the Executive ought not to pledge the honor of the nation to war without taking the sense of the country with them.

Mr. Calhoun supported the other view of the question. He said the great object of the measure was to detach Great Britain

definitively from the Holy Alliance. Great Britain would not, could not, resist them alone, we remaining neutral. She would fall eventually into their views, and the South Americans would be subdued. The next step the allies would then take would be against ourselves—to put down what had been called the first example of successful democratic rebellion. It was probable that by taking the stand now the Holy Alliance would be deterred from any forcible interposition with South America; but if not, we ought to sustain the ground now taken, even to the extent of war. There was danger in both alternatives; but the immediate danger was light, the contingent one to be averted was formidable in the extreme. It was wisdom in this, as in many of the occurrences of life, public and private, to incur the light hazard for the purpose of warding off the great one. And as this was the wise course, he had no doubt it would be sustained by the people of this country, if the exigency should require it. They would always sustain the wisest course when it was properly explained to them. He did believe that the Holy Allies had an ultimate eye to us; that they would, if not resisted, subdue South America. He had no doubt they would retain the country in subjection by military force. Success would give them partisans. Violent parties would arise in this country, one for and one against them, and we should have to fight upon our own shores for our own institutions. He was therefore in favor of the President's message with the proposed paragraph. But he thought a copy of it might be delivered to Baron Tuyl, with notice that it was to be considered as the answer to the communications recently received from him. The paragraph in the message said in substance the same as the draft of the paper; but the message was a talk among ourselves, which foreigners might be told they have no right to take notice of. To say the same thing directly to him might be offensive. There was more development in my draft. There was an ostentatious display of republican *contrasted* with monarchical principles, always showing the superiority of the former. If he consulted his personal inclination, he should be in favor of the draft. He had no doubt that our own people would be delighted with it, but he believed it would be deeply

offensive to the Holy Allies, and also to the British Government, who, with regard to monarchical principles, would sympathize entirely with them.

I said, with regard to the objections of Mr. Wirt, that I considered them of the deepest moment. I was glad they had been made, and trusted the President would give them full consideration before coming to his definitive decision. If they prevailed, neither the paragraph in the message nor my draft would be proper. The draft was prepared precisely to correspond with the paragraph in the message. I did believe, however, that both would be proper and necessary. Not that I supposed that the Holy Alliance had any intention of ultimately attacking us, or meant to establish monarchy among us. But if they should really invade South America, and especially Mexico, it was impossible, in the nature of things, that they should do it to restore the old exclusive dominion of Spain. Spain had not, and never could again have, the physical force to maintain that dominion; and if the countries should be kept in subjugation by the armies of the Allies, was it in human absurdity to imagine that they should waste their blood and treasure to prohibit their own subjects upon pain of death to set foot upon those territories? Surely not. If then the Holy Allies should subdue Spanish America, however they might at first set up the standard of Spain, the ultimate result of their undertaking would be to recolonize them, partitioned out among themselves. Russia might take California, Peru, Chili; France, Mexico—where we know she has been intriguing to get a monarchy under a Prince of the House of Bourbon, as well as at Buenos Ayres. And Great Britain, as her last resort, if she could not resist this course of things, would take at least the island of Cuba for her share of the scramble. Then what would be our situation—England holding Cuba, France Mexico? And Mr. Gallatin had told me within these four days that Hyde de Neuville had said to him, in the presence and hearing of ten or twelve persons, that if we did not yield to the claim of France under the eighth article of the Louisiana Convention, she ought to go and take the country, and that she had a strong party there. The danger, therefore, was brought

to our own doors, and I thought we could not too soon take our stand to repel it.

There was another point of view, which the President had in part suggested, and which I thought highly important. Suppose the Holy Allies should attack South America, and Great Britain should resist them alone and without our co-operation. I thought this not an improbable contingency, and I believed in such a struggle the allies would be defeated and Great Britain would be victorious, by her command of the sea. But, as the independence of the South Americans would then be only protected by the guarantee of Great Britain, it would throw them completely into her arms, and in the result make them her Colonies instead of those of Spain. My opinion was, therefore, that we must act promptly and decisively. But the act of the Executive could not, after all, commit the nation to a pledge of war. Nor was war contemplated by the proposals of Mr. Canning. He had explicitly stated to Mr. Rush from the beginning that his object was merely a concerted expression of sentiment, which he supposed would avert the necessity of war; and, as Great Britain was not and would not be pledged, by anything Mr. Canning had said or proposed, to war, so would anything now done by the Executive here leave Congress free hereafter to act or not, according as the circumstances of the emergency may require. With regard to the point made by Mr. Calhoun, my opinion was directly opposite to that which he had expressed. The communications from the Russian Minister required a direct and explicit answer. A communication of the paragraph in the President's message would be no answer, and if given *as* an answer would certainly be very inconsistent with the position that foreigners have no right to notice it, because it was all said among ourselves. This would be precisely as if a stranger should come to me with a formal and insulting display of his principles in the management of his family and his conduct towards his neighbors, knowing them to be opposite to mine, and as if I, instead of turning upon him and answering him face to face, should turn to my own family and discourse to them upon my principles and conduct, with sharp innuendoes upon those of the

stranger, and then say to him, "There! take that for your answer. And yet you have no right to notice it; for it was only said to my own family, and behind your back." I thought as the Holy Alliance had come to edify and instruct us with their principles, it was due in candor to them, and in justice to ourselves, to return them the compliment. And if the people of our country should hereafter know, as they must, how much good advice the Emperor Alexander has been giving us in private, they would not be satisfied to be told that the only return we had made to him for it was to send him a copy of the President's message to Congress. I felt the more solicitude that a direct and explicit answer should be given him, because the Baron in one of his dispatches had intimated that I had expressed not only an earnest desire that we might remain on good terms with Russia, but high opinions of the Emperor's moderation. In my report of the conferences, I had stated what was said by me, and from which the Baron had drawn his inference. I had told him that, having, while residing at his Court, witnessed the many acts of friendship for the United States of the Emperor Alexander, I had formed sentiments of high respect for his character, and even of personal attachment to him. This was true. I thought better of him than perhaps any other person at this meeting; and I did not believe there was one word in my draft that would give him offence. The avowal of principles connected with the disclaimer of interference in European affairs, of proselytism, and of hostile purposes, could not offend him. I thought it most essential. I was willing to agree to any modification which might be thought advisable, but the distinct avowal of principle appeared to me to be absolutely required. The paper acknowledged that we were aware the monarchical principle of government was different from ours, but it declared that we saw no reason why they should not be at peace with each other, and that we earnestly desired that peace. The Emperor's reply might be, that he desired equally that peace; that by the invasion of Spain the allies meant to interfere neither with the liberty nor the independence of Spain; that the Spanish nation was with them, and that they had only put down a faction,

originating in and supported by military mutiny, which the allies would not recognize. —

Mr. Southard and Mr. Wirt both declared that they thought a distinct and direct answer should be given to the Russian communications. But they scrutinized and objected to many of the details of the paper. Wirt, referring again to the paragraph which he had yesterday called a hornet, said it reminded him of a Virginian who declared his principle was that if a man gave him a fillip on the nose he would knock him down with a brickbat. Southard objected to the admission that we were aware the monarchical principle of government differed from ours, after stating that ours were principles of liberty, independence, and peace. I said that the details of the paper were entirely at the disposal of the President; that in drawing it up my object had been to make it as close, compact, and significant as possible; that every part of it was connected with the whole, and that from the first line to the last I meant all should bear upon the declaration with which it concludes— the answer at once to Russia and Great Britain.

Southard said he had distinctly perceived that was the object of the paper. The President retained the paper, to determine finally upon it to-morrow morning. He approved the draft of the second dispatch, prepared for R. Rush, but enquired what was the particular meaning of one paragraph in the first. I told him that was for me to ask of him, as it was a paragraph in the amendment drawn by himself, and in his own words; at which he heartily laughed. He desired me, however, finally to modify the dispatches to R. Rush, so as not to refuse co-operating with Great Britain even if she should yet demur to the recognition of South American independence. He gave my draft of general instructions to H. Allen to Mr. Southard, to prepare corresponding instructions to Commodore Hull. It was near five when the meeting broke up.

27th. Mr. D. Brent brought me this morning a note from the President, with the draft of my observations on the communications recently received from the Russian Minister; advising the omission of all the paragraphs to which objection had been made at the Cabinet meetings, and requesting me to see the

Baron de Tuyl immediately. I directed a copy to be made of the paper, omitting all the passages marked by the President for omission, and desired Mr. Brent to write a note in my name to the Baron, requesting him to call at the office of the Department at three o'clock. In the mean time I went to the President's, and took the draft of my statement of what had passed between me and the Baron since the 16th of October. I told the President that I had directed the copy to be made out, of the observations, conformably to his direction; that I cheerfully gave up all the passages marked for omission excepting one; and that was the second paragraph of the paper, containing the exposition of our principles. That paragraph was, in my own estimation, the heart of the paper. All the rest was only a series of deductions from it. The paper received from Baron Tuyl, and to which the observations were intended for an answer, was professedly an exposition of principles. I had thought it should be met directly by an exposition of ours. This was done in three lines in the paragraph in question. The first paragraph of my paper stated the fact that the Government of the United States was republican; the second, what the fundamental principles of this Government were—referring them all to *Liberty*, *Independence*, *Peace*. These were the principles from which all the remainder of the paper was drawn. Without them, the rest was a fabric without a foundation. The positions taken in the paragraph were true. I could not possibly believe they would give offence to any one. I was sure they would not to the Emperor Alexander, unless he had determined to invade South America; and if he had, this paper, which was to be our protest against it, could not too distinctly set forth the *principles* of our opposition to his design. The object of the paragraph was to set those principles in the broadest and boldest relief; to compress into one sentence the foundation upon which the mind and heart at once could repose for our justification of the stand we are taking against the Holy Alliance, in the face of our country and of mankind. I had much confidence in the effect of that paragraph—first, as persuasion to the Emperor Alexander, and, if that failed, as our manifesto to the world. I added, by way of apology for the

solicitude that I felt on this subject, that I considered this as the most important paper that ever went from my hands; that in this, as in everything I wrote in discharge of the office that I held, I was the agent of his Administration, the general responsibility of which rested upon him; but that, having so long served himself in the Department, I need not say to him that besides that general responsibility there was a peculiar one resting upon each head of a Department for the papers issued from his own office, and this was my motive for wishing to retain a paragraph which I considered as containing the soul of the document to which it belonged. I should only say, further, that after making these observations I should cheerfully acquiesce in his decision.

He admitted that there was a peculiar responsibility upon me for the paper, but said he had thought the exposition of principles was sufficiently clear from the part of the paper proposed to be retained; that there had been apprehensions that this paragraph might give offence, appearing as a direct avowal of principles contrary to those acted upon by the Holy Allies, and thus *implying* censure upon them; that the crisis was a great one, and it was all-important that the measures now taken should be adopted with all possible unanimity; that if, however, I would send over to him the original draft of the paper, he would again examine it, and let me know his final opinion with regard to the re-admission of the paragraph.

I returned to the office, and sent him the draft, the copy having been made with the paragraphs omitted.

Baron Tuyl came before I had received my draft back from the President. I told him that according to our agreement I had sent to enquire, with regard to the publication of the two notes which had passed between us, what were his definitive wishes; that the session of Congress was about to commence, and, if he wished it, our two notes would be communicated to them with the President's message; that we should prefer this course, and even that the whole substance of what had passed at our verbal conferences, and the extract which he had communicated to me, dated 30th August, with some observations upon the whole, which I was directed to read and deliver to

him now, should be thus made known to Congress and the public. But in this respect we should take the course most agreeable to him.

He said that he did not see any objection to the communication and publication of the two notes, but with regard to the rest perhaps his Government might not wish that it should be made public. The note of 1st September extract might be called even more than confidential, and he would thank me if, after the President shall have done with it, I would return it to him. The extract sent him of 30th August was, in its express terms, to be *confidentially* used; and as the publication would in all probability produce excitement and occasion public obloquy, not only upon his Government but upon the President's Administration itself, he believed it would be on the whole best not to publish them; but he would be glad to take a day or two further to consider of it. As to a publication by him, as I had observed to him, foreign Ministers, by the freedom of the Press, had the power to avail themselves of it, but he should make no use of that expedient.

I said that with regard to the effect of publication to produce animadversions upon his Government, I wished to leave it entirely to his own consideration. I had no doubt it would excite censure upon the Administration; but for that we were prepared. We knew it would come upon anything we should do, and we knew the extent of its power. We wished, therefore, that he should take no account whatever of that, as we should prefer the publication of the whole.

While we were at this stage of the conversation, Mr. Brent called me out and gave me a note from the President, returning my original draft, expressing the apprehension that the paragraph of principles contained a *direct* attack upon the Holy Allies, by a statement of principles which they had violated, but yet consenting that I should re-insert the paragraph, on account of the importance that I attached to it. I returned to the Baron, and read him the copy of my observations as it had been made, omitting the contested paragraph; and I told him that I should furnish him a copy of it in the course of the day. He thanked me for the communication, of which, he

said, he should immediately send a copy to his Court. With regard to speculation upon what might be done or intended concerning South American affairs, he could foretell nothing, because he could foresee nothing. His instructions said nothing to him of it. But of the generally friendly dispositions of the Emperor towards the United States he was perfectly sure. The United States were a republic. It was clear that in a republic republican principles must prevail. Between the first principles of republican and of monarchical government it was not necessary, nor could it be useful, to enter upon a discussion. It was one of the most difficult questions of public law, about which it was not probable that the opinions of men would ever be brought to agree; but that difference of principle did not necessarily involve hostile collision between them. The Imperial Government distinguished clearly between a republic like that of the United States and rebellion founded on revolt against legitimate authority. What he complained of was, that in the minds of many persons here, and in the representations of others, this distinction was confounded; that no credit was given to his Government for it, and that a disbelief of its being recognized was inculcated. As to the communication and publication of the papers, he would now say that he wished none of them should be published. I had told him that if the two notes alone should be communicated, and some members of Congress should accidentally hear that anything else had passed, there would probably be a resolution of one or the other House calling for it. And where asking for such a resolution was sufficient to obtain its adoption, and might draw forth all the papers that had passed, he preferred that no part of it should be communicated. It might in some sort personally implicate himself with his own Government. He had, indeed, done nothing that he could not fully justify; but he had not been specially instructed to address an official note to this Government, even upon the resolution of the Emperor not to receive any South American Agents. He had thought it the best mode of making the Emperor's determination known, and with the same view he had informed the other members of the Corps Diplomatique residing here that he had

addressed such a note to me. He should deem this a sufficient execution of the instructions to give publicity to the Emperor's decision.

I told him we should in that case consider all that had passed as yet confidential, and he might be assured that his confidence should in no case be abused. It was possible that members of Congress might get some intimation of what had been done, particularly as there had been communications between us and Great Britain also relating to South America. But if such a resolution as I had suggested might pass should be adopted, there was usually reserved an exception of all such information as the President might think it improper to communicate, and nothing would be given which would compromise him.

He said that after receiving the copy of my observations perhaps something would occur to him on which he should be glad to confer with me again, in which case he would ask for another interview. I told him I should always be happy to receive him.

Soon after he left me, Mr. Gallatin came in to ask if I had delivered to the President his letter claiming a half outfit upon the negotiation of the Convention of 3d July, 1815, because it had been allowed to Mr. Clay. In the hurry of our late business it had not been taken to the President, and, Mr. Brent having left the office, it could not now be found. Gallatin entered into conversation with me on public affairs, and told me he had been with the President, who had read to him my observations on the late communications from Baron Tuyl. He had seen nothing objectionable in them except one paragraph, which he thought would certainly be offensive to the Emperor, because it contained a direct censure upon what he had done, by an exposition of principles with which he would not agree —liberty being nothing to him; and as to independence, it was his habit to meddle and interfere with everything. Ever since the restoration of the Bourbons, there was nothing, even the smallest details, in which his Ambassadors did not interfere in France. They had destroyed the Duke of Richelieu by making him change the election law against his will; and he had even interfered here, to advise us not to take Florida. The Emperor

Alexander had at one time inclined to the liberal opinions; but that was now much changed. In 1814, Canning, answering some smart speech of Madame de Staël's, said to her, "You had that from your Jacobin friend the Emperor of Russia." This was reported within twenty-four hours to the Emperor, to whom some explanatory apology was made. But now the Emperor's prejudices are quite of a different character. The alteration was said to have been effected by the murder of Kotzebue.

I told Mr. Gallatin that I had pleaded hard with the President for the paragraph, which I thought altogether essential to the paper, but that I had read the paper without the paragraph to Baron Tuyl. I went, between five and six, again to the President's, and told him of the interview I had had with the Baron, and that I had read the paper to him, with the omission of the paragraph; and I reported to him the substance of all that had passed between the Baron and me. He desired me to see the Baron again and tell him that if there should be a call of Congress concerning his correspondence and conferences with me, it would be answered by a report from me, which should be shown to him before it is sent in.

28th. J. W. Taylor was here part of the evening, just arrived from New York. He says there were this afternoon one hundred and twenty seats of members of the House already taken, and he had no doubt there were one hundred and fifty members in the city. This is earlier than usual. We had about two hours of conversation upon various political topics—the recent election in the State of New York, the impending election of Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the more distant Presidential election. He spoke especially of the election of a Vice-President, and intimated that Mr. Crawford's friends had in view for that office Governor Yates, of New York, who desired it. I asked him what was to be done with Mr. Tompkins, who had not declined. He seemed to think that after eight years' service it was *common law* that the Vice-Presidency as well as the Chief Magistracy should change hands. And he said that as he came through the city of New York he heard that he was in prison for ten thousand

dollars at the suit of Peter Jay Munro. It was for money that Munro had been compelled to pay as bondsman or endorser for Tompkins; but he understood it was probable the affair would be adjusted. No doubt it was desirable that some provision should be made for the comfortable support of Mr. Tompkins, but the character of the State and of the nation was too much at stake for his re-election to the office of Vice-President. It was possible, perhaps not improbable, that there should be three candidates for the Presidency, to be chosen by the House of Representatives, and no majority be found practicable for either of them—in which case the Executive Government must be administered by the Vice-President; though he knew not whether for a whole Presidential term or only until a new election for President could be held.

I told him I had seen a paragraph in the Richmond Enquirer stating that there was a plan to that effect on foot, and that the Vice-President thus to be chosen had been named to them. This was all that I knew of the matter. But there would be so great inconvenience in devolving upon the Vice-President the Executive power, from mere inability to choose a President, that if the case should occur of three candidates, as he had supposed, and no majority could be formed for either, I should expect one of them would ultimately withdraw.

He said neither of them could withdraw, as he could not prevent those who adhered to him from voting for him.

I said that if the case was supposable that I should be one of them, and should have of the three the smallest number of electoral votes, I should not only think it my duty to withdraw, but to declare that if elected I would not accept—rather than that the election should fail.

We had also much conversation upon the approaching choice of Speaker, and the various contingencies of Taylor's competition with Clay, Barbour, and perhaps Webster. He did not know whether Clay intended to stand as a candidate or decline; and if he should stand, whether he (Taylor) should stand against him or decline. I could give him no information; but only told him that if he should stand, he would have my best wishes for his success. He said about one-half the delegation from New

York in the House were personally and politically his friends; the other half were also personally friendly to him, but would vote as Mr. Van Buren would prescribe. He said also that Barbour's friends were sanguine for his success, in the hope of deterring Clay from offering, by a show of competition.

29th. Mr. Salazar came to the office. I told him that having received his first letter at Boston, the President being in Virginia, it had not been in my power immediately to answer him; that on receiving the second here I had prepared a draft of an answer, and on submitting it to the President he had thought it would be best that I should first see and personally converse with him upon it. I then read him the draft of my letter, which, after setting forth the friendly dispositions of this Government to all the South American nations, and particularly to the republic of Colombia, enquired whether the Colombian Government held itself responsible for the acts of the Government of Peru, of which the United States or their citizens have cause to complain.

He said immediately that he thought not. I observed that we had received a *direct* complaint from the Government of Peru against Captain Stewart, which we should directly answer; that we had proofs that the complaint was unfounded; and had causes of complaint against the Governments of Peru and Chili.

He said that his instructions were merely to transmit the papers containing the complaints, without entering into any discussion about them; that the Minister of State of Peru had written to him saying that a Minister from Peru to the United States would soon be appointed, and in the mean time requesting him to communicate the documents of complaint against Captain Stewart. There was a treaty of alliance between Colombia and Peru, by virtue of which General Bolivar, with his army, was at Lima; and that was the interest which Colombia had in the complaint. But he was sensible he was not the person through whom the complaint should be made, as he was not the Minister of Peru; and he had so written to his Government, nor should he do anything further in the case.

I told him I had heard of the treaty between Colombia and

Peru that he had mentioned, and that it had also been concluded with Chili, and was proposed to Buenos Ayres; and Mr. Todd had understood Dr. Gual to say that he (Salazar) would communicate it immediately after his arrival in this country.

He said he would communicate it; and he gave me the report made by the Colombian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Gual, to the Congress in May last, and read to me a passage in it relating to the United States, and the project of a treaty of commerce with them. He said the Colombian Government were desirous of concluding such a treaty with us, but the only question was of the *place* where it should be made. They were desirous, chiefly for the advantage of the example in Europe, that it might be negotiated at Bogota. And he added that the Swedish Government had sent last winter Mr. Lorich there with proposals for commercial negotiation.

I told him that the late Mr. Torres, in his notes requesting the acknowledgment of the independence of the republic of Colombia, had also formally proposed the negotiation of a treaty of commerce, and, as it was usual that the treaty should be held at the residence of the Government to which it is proposed, we had expected it would be negotiated here. I read to him the passage in the note of Mr. Torres which proposed the treaty. But, I said, we were not tenacious of making it here, and Mr. Anderson had a full power and instructions for negotiating at Bogota. But, as the proposal for the treaty came from thence, it would be acceptable to know what the ideas of the Colombian Government were with regard to the details of the treaty.

He said he had a project of a treaty, which he would send me. He spoke also of the misunderstanding which has arisen between Dr. Gual and Colonel Todd, with much apparent regret; said that in 1818 Mr. Irvine had been as an Agent of this Government at Angostura, and had written some very offensive letters to General Bolivar; that Mr. Todd's correspondence had assumed much of the character of that of Mr. Irvine; that copies of all the correspondence had been transmitted to him, but he had been instructed to make no com-

plaint concerning it. There was one paper among the rest, however, which seemed very singular—an address from Colonel Todd to the Vice-President, Santander, expressed thus: "C. S. Todd, as a citizen of the United States, requests an exequatur for a Consul." Mr. Todd, being an Agent of the Government of the United States, could not with propriety make a demand as a private citizen, and it was irregular for him to make any demand otherwise than through the Minister of Foreign Affairs. I told him I greatly regretted these unpleasant occurrences between Dr. Gual and Colonel Todd; that upon the arrival of Mr. Anderson I hoped they would all terminate, as thenceforward Mr. Todd would hold no more official correspondence with the Colombian Government; that Mr. Todd had thought Dr. Gual was unfavorably disposed towards the United States, particularly in the transactions relating to the repeal of the discriminating duty upon merchandise, seven and a half per cent. higher upon importations from America than from Europe. I then related to him the statement of obstacles raised by Dr. Gual to this repeal, as reported by Colonel Todd, and his reasons alleged for applying to a different channel of communication with the Vice-President.

He said he did not know what motive Dr. Gual could have for being unfriendly to the United States; that for himself, he had been so fully convinced that the discriminating duty had been a mere error in the drawing up of the law, that he had written to General Soublette requesting him to supersede, even by anticipation, the levying of the extra duty upon merchandise from the United States, which he had accordingly done. And he was happy to observe that the trade from the United States to Colombia was rapidly increasing.

I then spoke to him of the negotiation between Mr. Rush and Mr. Canning, recently commenced, and of the manifestations of the disposition of the Emperor of Russia regarding South America. And I told him he would see by the President's message to Congress the deep interest we were taking in the maintenance of their independence; and Mr. Ravenga would inform his Government how earnestly we were pressing the acknowledgment of it by Great Britain.

He said he had received a letter from Ravenga requesting him to offer me his thanks for the instructions to Mr. Rush, in consequence of which he had so earnestly befriended him. He spoke of the Colombian loan, which had proved so disastrous in London, and had caused the imprisonment of Mr. Ravenga, and asked me whether I thought Mr. Rush could, notwithstanding his public character, act as an arbitrator with Mr. Baring, as had been reported.

I said I knew not enough of the particulars of the case to form an opinion upon it.

He said that, politically speaking, he thought the loan ought to be ratified and fully paid; but that, considered economically, Mr. Zea had been egregiously taken in. As to the Holy Alliance, if they should attack Colombia, he had no doubt his country would maintain her independence; but, although the army would be rather gratified than displeased with the continuance of the war, the country would suffer by it most severely. The spirit of independence he was sure could not be put down by the united power of all Europe.

The Baron de Tuyl called next, and said he came in consequence of the invitation I had given him to make any observations that might occur to him upon the paper that I had delivered to him. He had brought it back with a paper marking certain alterations, and one omission, which he wished might be made before he should forward it to his Government. He apologized for having written in English the alterations that he desired, which he said was as if he should ask Mr. Chateaubriand to alter a paper written by him in French. He had first thought of writing in French his proposed alterations, but, the idiom of the languages being different, he could not so well have adapted the expressions to his ideas.

I took the papers, and told him I would do everything in my power to accommodate his wishes. The changes that he desires are a softening of certain expressions that bear hard upon the Government of Spain in South America, and which place in the same line a deprecation of the Emperor's hostility to the United States and their institutions, and of his interference between Spain and South America. The Baron said that he was

so perfectly sure of the Emperor's friendly dispositions to the United States and that he had no hostility to their institutions, that upon the mere expression of a doubt concerning them, his Government might suppose that he had not done justice to their sentiments in this respect. But as to South America it was not in his power to speak, for he really did not know what the views of his Government were, having received no instructions whatever concerning them.

December 1st. The Baron de Tuyl, Russian Minister, and Baron de Stackelberg, Swedish Chargé d'Affaires, came and announced to me the decease, at five o'clock this morning, of Mr. Frederick Greuhm, Minister Resident from Prussia. They said they had been to his house, had sealed his papers, and caused them to be transported to the house of the Baron de Tuyl; of all which they should give information to their respective Ministers at Berlin, to be communicated to the Prussian Government. They now came to give the same notice to this Government, and to ask me if I would favor them with my advice respecting the interment of the deceased. I said it must depend on Mr. Greuhm's family where he should be buried, whether at Georgetown, or at the grave-yard in Washington, where the members of Congress are interred. If the latter, an application for the purpose to the city authorities would be necessary, which I would readily make if they desired; and I was assured the Government of the United States would be solicitous to show every mark of respect on the occasion that was due, as well to the personal character of the deceased as to the station that he held.

I called at the President's and consulted him with regard to what should be done. It is the first instance of the decease of a foreign Minister at the seat of Government since the existence of the Union. The President thought some respectful notice of the funeral due from the Government; and it occurred to him as proper that the President should send his carriage, and that the heads of Departments should attend. Whether it should be noticed by the two Houses of Congress was the next question. Mr. Calhoun came in while I was there, and on consultation it was advised that I should this

evening see Mr. Gaillard, the President of the Senate, and Mr. Clay, Speaker of the House, and confer with them on what they might think the Houses would be disposed to do. After dinner, I called first on Mr. Gaillard, President of the Senate, at Tims's. I found there with him Mr. Dickerson, of New Jersey, Bell, of New Hampshire, and Chandler and Holmes, of Maine. After some conversation, they agreed that Mr. Gaillard should to-morrow morning informally mention to the Senators the decease of Mr. Greuhm, and they should consider whether formally or informally they should attend his funeral. I then went to Mr. Davis's, and there saw Mr. Clay, who mentioned a strong disposition to do anything that might be proper to show respect to the deceased and his Government. Thence I called at Mr. Carbery the Mayor's. He was not at home, but I afterwards met him, and he came to my house. He undertook that a grave should be allowed to be dug for Mr. Greuhm in the navy-yard ground, as was requested by Barons Tuyl and Stackelberg. I had received a note from them to that effect.

2d. Two notes reciprocally passed between the Barons Tuyl and Stackelberg with me concerning the funeral of Mr. Greuhm. They informed me that it would take place the day after to-morrow morning, at eleven o'clock, from Dr. Laurie's church, in F Street, to which place the corpse will be previously transported. They desired also that Mr. Ringgold, the Marshal of the District, might be requested to attend, for the preservation of order. I sent for the Marshal, who very readily agreed to attend and to give his assistance for making all the necessary arrangements. They had drawn up an order of procession, to which we made, with their assent, some modifications. I called at the President's, and stated to him the question how Mr. Salazar, the Minister from the republic of Colombia, was to be considered on this occasion. *We* could not invite him to attend, and they would certainly not. While I was at the President's, Mr. Parrott, of New Hampshire, and several other members, of both Houses, came in.

Dined at the French Consul-General Petry's. He had expected the arrival this day of his successor, Mr. Durant Saint-André, but he did not come. Heads of Departments and the

foreign Corps Diplomatique were there. I spoke to Baron Stackelberg, and afterwards to Baron Tuyl, about Mr. Salazar, the Colombian Minister, to enquire if they intended to invite him to attend the funeral to-morrow. They said it was "de toute impossibilité," and reasoned very gravely with me to prove it.

In the evening I called again upon Mr. Clay, and afterwards upon Mr. Gaillard, to inform them of the arrangements made for the funeral of Mr. Greuhm. They said it was probable the two Houses would adjourn over the day without public assignment of the reason. But Clay said he did not know but there might be a debate in the House upon it. He entered also into conversation upon the message, which, he said, seemed to be the work of several hands, and that the War and Navy Departments made a magnificent figure in it, as well as the Post Office. I said there was an account of a full treasury; and much concerning foreign affairs, which was within the business of the Department of State.

He said, yes, and the part relating to foreign affairs was, he thought, the best part of the message. He thought the Government had weakened itself and the tone of the country by withholding so long the acknowledgment of the South American independence, and he believed even a war for it against all Europe, including even England, would be advantageous to us.

I told him I believed a war for South American independence might be inevitable, and, under certain circumstances, might be expedient, but that I viewed war in a very different light from him—as necessarily placing high interests of different portions of the Union in conflict with each other, and thereby endangering the Union itself.

Not a successful war, he said. But a successful war, to be sure, created a military influence and power, which he considered as the greatest danger of war. He said he had thought of offering a resolution to declare this country an asylum for all fugitives from oppression, and to connect with it a proposal for modifying the naturalization law, to make it more easily attainable. The foreigners in New York are petitioning Congress to that effect, and Clay will turn his liberality towards

them to account. It was near eleven in the evening when I got home.

3d. The Barons de Tuyl and Stackelberg came, and mentioned several of the minute particulars of the funeral arrangements for to-morrow, which they proposed in conformity with usages existing in Europe, but which they wished to accommodate altogether to impressions of propriety prevailing here. One proposal was, that Baron Maltitz should carry upon a cushion, preceding the hearse, the ribbon and cross of the Order of the Red Eagle of the third class, of which Mr. Greuhm was a Knight. Another question was, whether the Corps Diplomatique should attend in full-dress embroidered uniforms, or merely in black clothes. Another, who it would be proper should attend as pall-bearers.

I advised them not to carry the cushion with the ribbon and cross; for if they did, there would be a danger that the people would take them for Freemasons; that they should rather go in black clothes than in full-dress uniforms; and that the pall-bearers should all be members of the Diplomatic Corps.

I called at the President's. While I was there, Mr. Calhoun came in. He seemed quite alarmed lest the paragraph of the President's message relating to the proposals made to European nations for abolishing private war upon the sea should be mistaken for a proposition merely to abolish privateering. He seemed to wish that an explanatory and commendatory editorial article might be put into the newspaper concerning it. He said Mr. Crowninshield and Mr. Bradley had both disapproved of it. But I thought no explanatory or commendatory paragraph necessary.

4th. A violent storm of rain, which continued through the whole day. Lieutenant Weed, of the Marine Corps, came from the Secretary of the Navy, to say that he thought of countermanding the order to the corps to turn out for the procession; with which opinion I fully concurred. At eleven o'clock the service was performed by Dr. Laurie at his church—a prayer, short address, and two funereal hymns. The Corps Diplomatique were all there; Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Southard, a few other officers of Government, and not more than two members

of Congress. The procession was of about twenty-five carriages —Mr. Southard went with me. The rain poured in torrents during the whole procession, and at the grave. The procession broke up there.

I took Mr. Southard, on our return, to his office at the Navy Department. On the way we talked of political manœuvring now on foot. The caucus is maturing, and is to be precipitated. One hundred and fifteen expected to attend. Southard spoke of his late colleague Dickerson with much bitterness, and says he is extremely bitter, particularly against him, but that he has no influence whatever in New Jersey.

I went to the President's, and found Gales, the half-editor of the National Intelligencer, there. He said the message was called a war message; and spoke of newspaper paragraphs from Europe announcing that an army of twelve thousand Spaniards was to embark immediately to subdue South America.

I told him there was absurdity on the face of these paragraphs, as the same newspapers announced with more authenticity the disbanding of the Spanish army. The President himself is singularly disturbed with these rumors of invasion by the Holy Alliance.

January 1st, 1824.—Robert S. Garnett, a member of the House of Representatives, called upon me this morning and told me there had been an *explosion* at Richmond; that, to the great surprise of everybody, Tyler's Report against the Anti-Caucus Resolutions of the Legislature of Tennessee had been indefinitely postponed by a majority of one vote in the House of Delegates of Virginia—seventy-seven to seventy-six.

George Sullivan came with a draft of a letter to Governor Eustis upon the state of the Massachusetts claim. He asked my advice concerning it, which I gave him freely. I proposed to him several alterations, which he said he would make, and I advised him especially to avoid every expression which might appear to abandon any portion of the claim. He said Mr. Calhoun had told him he must classify the claim, for that the President would send it to Congress. But, Sullivan added, it should not go to Congress.

We all paid the usual New Year's visit at the President's;

his eyes. Mr. Nourse, the Register of the Treasury, attended for Mr. Jones, the Secretary of the Board. A resolution was prepared authorizing the purchase of seven per cent. stock, according to an Act of Congress passed the 22d of this month, and we signed it. The annual meeting of the Board is to be next week, on Wednesday. Our business now was immediately finished, and I went successively into the Senate and House of Representatives. I conversed with many of the members of both Houses. Mr. R. King mentioned again to me that upon which he had begun to speak at the President's drawing-room when we were interrupted—the rumor of a coalition between Mr. Crawford and me and our mutual friends to concur in a Congressional caucus nomination of him as President and of me as Vice-President—a rumor which, he said, was circulating both here and at New York.

I told him that such overtures had been made to me and I had rejected them, and I gave him my reasons; the same as I had assigned them to J. W. Taylor on Sunday.

Mr. King said the course that I had taken was such as he should have expected from me, and, he thought, the only one worthy of me. He said he had had some conversation with Mr. Clay, from which he had learnt that Clay was for going to the caucus ostensibly for the purpose of voting it down, but to take his chance of the nomination if there should be a majority for it. He said his opinion was that Clay wanted to get into some public situation *out* of his own State, feeling his ground there to be shaking under him, and that he will push here for anything that he can get.

King is much dissatisfied with the indications from the State of New York, and, I think, does not yet see them in all their bearings. I spoke to Mr. Baylies of the resolution (Dr. Floyd's) calling for estimates of the expense of sending two hundred men from the Council Bluffs to the mouth of Columbia River; said I was at the President's yesterday when the resolution was brought to him, and hoped the measure would be adopted; that I had urged the President to recommend it in the session message; and had again pressed him upon it yesterday, on occasion of receiving a letter from Mr. Hogan, the Consul at Val-

paraiso, mentioning that an American vessel had met a British one carrying supplies to the British establishment at Astoria.

I had also a long conversation and some explanations with Mr. Webster upon his Greek resolution, which was left undisposed of yesterday by the committee of the whole rising without taking any question upon it.

I told Webster that when his resolution should have been *finally* acted upon I should be glad to converse with him. He expressed a disposition to have the conversation now, and I told him the reasons why I had been averse to his resolution. He said he had spoken to Southard at Sullivan's of his resolution before he offered it; that Southard and Calhoun had both encouraged him to offer it, and the President himself had told him he had no objection to its being made.

I spoke this morning to Mr. Bartlett, of New Hampshire, about his quarrel in the House with Clay, with the result of which he seemed dissatisfied. I understood, however, upon enquiry, though not from him, that it was not intended it should go any further.

28th. Colonel Richard M. Johnson came this morning to urge with great earnestness the appointment of Craven P. Luckett as a Commissioner of Land Titles in West Florida, and the removal of Steele as District Attorney there. He gave me a bundle of letters against Steele. But the Colonel had other objects of conversation. He is the particular friend of Mr. Clay as to the Presidential election, and secondarily a common friend of General Jackson, Mr. Calhoun, and myself. He has taken a strenuous part in opposition to the project of a Congressional caucus nomination, and is warmly engaged in the endeavor to harmonize the operations of the other candidates and their friends. The caucus is the forlorn-hope of Mr. Crawford. His friends have hitherto been confident that in a general meeting of the Republican members they would outnumber the votes of any one competitor, and thus obtain a final majority in his favor. The other candidates and their friends are averse to a caucus, on various grounds, and Colonel Johnson has labored much to unite them in opposition to the measure. He urges also the extension of this conciliatory concert to the

formation of an Administration. I told him that I would cordially contribute to this object to the utmost of my power; that to this end I had authorized my friends in the pursuit of it, if they should think it expedient, to set me altogether aside, and to concur in any arrangement necessary for the union of the Republican party and the public interest. I reserved to myself only the discretion of retiring from the public service in the event of the election of any other candidate.

Johnson approved altogether of this course, and spoke of Clay as being much exasperated against the friends of Mr. Crawford. They have offered him the Vice-Presidency, as they have to me, but they think he has not been quick enough to fall into their views, and some incidents have occurred tending to more than alienation between them and him. Johnson mentioned particularly the sharp altercation a few days since in the House, as an occurrence which had very much exasperated Clay. He spoke also of the quarrel between Bartlett and Clay, which I told him their friends ought to make up between them —which was just the easiest thing in the world, both of them having been intemperate in their expressions, and both having something to apologize for. He said it was very true; that Clay was the most imprudent man in the world, and had been altogether wrong in daring the members of the House opposed to his opinions on the Greek question to go home and meet their constituents.

29th. Daniel P. Cook had been here in the morning. Seymour and Cook spoke much upon the course of politics and the fermentation of the Presidential leaven at this time. Cook is agonizing for the appointment of his father-in-law, Edwards, for the mission to Mexico; while Ingham and Rogers, of the Pennsylvania delegation, have started George M. Dallas as a competitor to supplant him. Cook says Rogers told him that if the President did not nominate Dallas he (Rogers) would never set his foot into the President's house again.

30th. Colonel R. M. Johnson, Mr. R. King, and Mr. Fuller had long conversations with me concerning the movements of the parties here for the Presidential succession. Johnson says that Calhoun proposed to him an arrangement by which

I should be supported as President, General Jackson as Vice-President, Clay to be Secretary of State, and he himself Secretary of the Treasury; not as a bargain or coalition, but by the common understanding of our mutual friends.

I made no remark upon this, but it discloses the forlorn-hope of Calhoun, which is to secure a step of advancement to himself, and the total exclusion of Crawford, even from his present office at the head of the Treasury.

Johnson said that Governor Barbour, Senator from Virginia, after a conversation with him, in which he had insisted, and Barbour had agreed, that upon an election in the House, should it come there, the vote would be at least two thirds for me against Crawford, said he had thoughts of giving in his adhesion to me, which Johnson advised him by all means to do.

Mr. King spoke of the state of affairs in New York. His own views are in some respect biassed by his situation. He has been heretofore himself a candidate for the Presidency. He had at one time during the present Administration hopes of being the next in succession. There is a spice of disappointment in all his opinions, and his grounds of preference now are too much sectional. There is something peculiar in the state of his mind, for it is transparent in his conduct and discourse that although strenuous for the Northern man, he would, in the event of his failure, not be without consolation. King is one of the wisest and best men among us. But his own ambition was inflamed by splendid success in early life, followed by vicissitudes of popular favor and hopes deferred, till he has arrived nearly at the close of his public career. He has one session of Congress to sit in Senate, but talks even now of resigning.

Fuller mentioned the meetings which have been held, and are holding, to ascertain the number of the members of Congress who deem it inexpedient at this time to make a caucus nomination for the next Presidency.

31st. Mr. Ingham, a member of the House of Representatives from Pennsylvania, called upon me this morning. He is the principal leading member of the Republican part of the Pennsylvania delegation. He and Thomas J. Rogers, two years

ago, got up Mr. Calhoun as a candidate for the Presidency. They were the movers of the recent circular signed by thirteen members of the House and one Senator from that State, declaring their determination not to attend a *partial* meeting of members of Congress to nominate candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President; and they started the recommendation of George M. Dallas to the President for nomination as Minister to Mexico. Mr. Ingham, having understood that I had objected to this nomination, requested to see me, to converse with me concerning it, and also concerning the course of conduct which the friends of Mr. Calhoun have for the last two years observed towards me. We had not time to go through the whole subject, as I was obliged to attend the funeral of Mrs. De Bresson, as a pall-holder, at eleven o'clock; and Ingham is to call and see me again. He said that the recommendation of Mr. Dallas had arisen from a previous one of H. Baldwin, which had given dissatisfaction to the Republicans of Pennsylvania, and the President had promised to appoint a Pennsylvanian if the delegation could agree in the recommendation; that they had not at first been earnest in the recommendation, but, since it was made, an attack upon Dallas had been concerted by Binns, an infamous man, with others in Philadelphia, and aided by Mr. Lowrie, the Senator at this place; who were also endeavoring to overthrow the Republican members here who had signed the circular. It was, therefore, in Mr. Ingham's view, infinitely important to their retaining the Republican ascendency in Pennsylvania that their recommendation of Mr. Dallas should prevail, and that he should receive the appointment.

I told Mr. Ingham that the stand made by the Pennsylvania members, in which they had already been sustained by their Legislature, had placed Pennsylvania substantially at the head of the Union. It exhibited her as the protectress of the rights of the people and of all the smaller States against the imminent combination of New York and Virginia. My objections to the appointment of Mr. Dallas had been that he was not yet of the age and political standing suitable for that appointment, and could not be appointed to it without injustice to many

others; that as to its bearing on the Presidential election, I must be indifferent between Mr. Edwards and Mr. Dallas, both of whom are avowed partisans of Mr. Calhoun.

February 3d. Colonel R. M. Johnson here. He is very earnestly engaged in counteracting the caucus party, and very anxious for the appointment of Luckett. The anti-caucus meetings have not yet resulted in the agreement to publish a declaration against it. W. Plumer told me that some of the New Hampshire members were averse to signing the anti-caucus declaration, thinking that Mr. Crawford's name might probably be withdrawn before the close of this session of Congress; in which case they expected the nomination would be of me, and they would then have no objection to going into caucus.

I told him the objection was to the thing, and not to the person. The sentiment of the nation was against a nomination by members of Congress. I thought that sentiment well founded, and should feel myself bound to decline such a nomination, either for the Presidency or the Vice-Presidency.

4th. S. D. Ingham called again, and I had a full and explicit conversation with him respecting G. M. Dallas, and generally respecting the treatment of me by Mr. Calhoun and his friends; the professions of friendship and the acts of insidious hostility; the requisitions upon me to dismiss the Democratic Press and appoint the Franklin Gazette to publish the laws in Philadelphia; the vindictive malice of Binns, which they thereby excited against me; the flaunting declaration in the Franklin Gazette immediately afterwards, that they were under no obligation to me for the appointment; the decided part taken against me by that paper in the controversy with Jonathan Russell, and its frequent ill-disguised attacks upon me since; the courtship of the New England federalists for Mr. Calhoun; the toast to the memory of Fisher Ames, at the Edgefield dinner to McDuffie; the newspapers set up in Massachusetts to support Mr. Calhoun; the smuggled paragraphs, asserting that my friends in New England had abandoned me for him; and the panegyric of the Washington Republican upon the Boston Galaxy, a paper for years advertised for sale to the highest bidder of the Presi-

dential candidates, and which has at last opened a battery of scurrilous abuse upon me, and in avowed support of Mr. Calhoun. I mentioned all these things to him in frankness, but told him they had not the slightest effect upon my opinion with regard to the appointment of Mr. Dallas.

He wished to apologize for Norvell, the editor of the Franklin Gazette, who, he said, entertained the highest respect for me, and whose appointment had been urged not from any hostility to me. The papers published against me in the controversy with Russell he (Ingham) had disapproved, and had written to Norvell to refuse them; but it happened that before receiving his letter Norvell had promised to publish the first, and then could not reject the others. The main foundation of the opposition of the Franklin Gazette, and of the Republicans in Pennsylvania, to me, was owing to their seeing that I was supported by Walsh.

I told him that Mr. Walsh's support of me had not been solicited by me. It was voluntary and spontaneous, and had been by no means uniform. In the Russell controversy he had been at first against me, and upon other occasions had not been sparing of censure upon me. The friends of Mr. Calhoun had no doubt the right to set him up as a candidate for the Presidency, and if they chose to promote as the head of an Administration a man whose elevation must of itself operate as a proscription from the Executive of the nation of *all* the other men who were distinguished before the nation, they surely might; but the error seemed to be in supposing that this might be done without any manifestations of enmity towards them. My complaint was, not that attempts were made to tear my reputation to pieces for the benefit of Mr. Calhoun, but that they were preceded and accompanied by professions of great respect and esteem, and with the expression of most earnest desires for harmony and good understanding.

He said that it had not been considered that mere age was the decisive qualification for the Presidency.

I said, certainly not. But ours was practically more a Government of personal consideration and influence than of written

articles. There was in the genius of our institutions a graduated subordination among the persons by whom the Government was administered. Reputation was the basis of our elections, and the emblem of its organization was a pyramid, at the point of which was the chief, under whom men of high consideration, though not equal to his, naturally found their places. Among the sources of this consideration, age and experience had their share, and, unless superseded by very transcendent merit, a decisive share. This had never yet been otherwise under our present Constitution. Not a single instance had occurred of a person older than the President of the United States accepting office as a head of Department under him. This was not the result of any written law, but it arose from the natural operation of our system. What the effect of such a departure from it as the election of Mr. Calhoun might be, I could not undertake to say. But this I would say, and had said to those of my friends who had spoken to me on the subject: that if the harmony of the country could be promoted by setting me altogether aside, I would cheerfully acquiesce in that disposition, and never would be the occasion or the supporter of factious opposition to any Administration whatsoever.

Mr. Ingham professed to be satisfied with this exposition of my views and feelings; but, as I gave him no reason to expect I could be reconciled to the appointment of Dallas to Mexico, he was doubtless not satisfied with the result of the meeting.

I attended in the evening the drawing-room at the President's. On returning home, I found J. W. Taylor at my house, and had a long conversation with him. He told me that Jesse B. Thomas, a Senator from Illinois, had strongly urged upon him the expediency of my acquiescing in the nomination as Vice-President, with Mr. Crawford for the Presidency. He said that Mr. Crawford would certainly be elected, and he spoke of certain members of Congress as ultimately to vote for him who appear to be far otherwise disposed at this time; that it was, however, very desirable that he should carry with him the strength which he would derive from the co-operation of my friends; that from the state of Mr. Crawford's health it was

highly probable the duties of the Presidency would devolve upon the Vice-President, which had made it necessary to select with peculiar anxiety a person qualified for the contingency which was to be anticipated; that a compliance with the views of Mr. Crawford's friends on this occasion would be rendering them a service which would recommend me to their future favor, and would doubtless secure my election hereafter to the Presidency. Taylor said he had answered that admitting even the certainty that Mr. Crawford should be elected, that was no sufficient reason for the acquiescence of my friends in the proposed arrangement. If the election should be carried against them, they will at least have followed their own sense of what was right and fit. They could not place me in subordination to Mr. Crawford without inverting the natural order of things and placing the North in a position of inferiority to the South. Should they be so placed by the Constitutional voice of the people, they must undoubtedly submit; but they could not consent to be so placed by their own act. Taylor said Thomas had asked him to see him again after thinking on the subject. I said he might tell him then, if he thought fit, that he had seen me, and I had told him that I was so satisfied of the inexpediency of a Congressional caucus nomination at this time that I should decline accepting it, were it even for the Presidency. He said he thought it would be better that, without referring to me or to my determination, he should simply state the perseverance of my friends in the sentiments he had already expressed as being theirs.

5th. Mr. Bailey called. He says that Mr. Sloane, the Chairman of the Committee of Elections, told him he thought the committee would report against him;[1] and gave him a paper containing the reasons upon which they had come to that conclusion. He showed me the paper, and the reasons assigned appeared to me so weak that I could not exclude suspicions from my mind of other motives. Bailey said there were two

[1] Mr. John Bailey, of Massachusetts, whilst a Clerk in the State Department, and residing at Washington, had been elected to the House of Representatives in a district of that State. A remonstrance had been presented, based upon the question of his citizenship.

of the committee, as he supposed, decidedly in his favor, two decidedly against him, two wavering, and one, Mr. Ball, had not attended the meetings. He doubted whether to answer the reasoning of the committee, or to let them go with it to the House and answer it there. I thought he had better answer it both to themselves and to the House.

At the office, Mr. Bradley, of Vermont, called, and told me he had information from an undoubted source that there was a coalition between Clay and Calhoun. How far the friends of Jackson had entered into it he did not know, but the project for the Harrisburg Convention, on the 4th of March, was to make up a ticket which would ultimately decide for Jackson, Clay, or Calhoun, according to circumstances, but excluding Crawford and me. Mallary told me that Bradley was for Crawford, and Bradley says Mallary was so.

March 6th. I called at the President's. Found Mr. Calhoun with him, urging the appointment of B. T. Watts as Secretary of Legation to Colombia; he soon withdrew. I spoke of the nominations. The President inclines to the suppression of the Fourth Auditor's office. He thinks one Auditor for each Department sufficient. Spoke of twenty members of the Pennsylvania delegation recommending Mr. Findley, the Senator. He told them that if nominated he would be opposed in Senate, on the principle that appointments of Senators to subaltern Executive offices degraded the body itself. The President said Mr. R. King had declared this to be his opinion and intention. The President showed me Lowrie's letter to him informing him that he had received under a blank cover from Richmond the copy of the President's answer to General Jackson's letter to him, recommending to him to form his Administration of the two parties. Lowrie says in his letter he had not determined what to do. The President said, as this was a *menacing* attitude, he had not answered Lowrie's letter. Mr. Baldwin afterwards had called upon him, as a friend of Lowrie's, and asked him if the affair could not be accommodated, to which he had answered there was nothing to accommodate. The President spoke also of the proposed reduction of the diplomatic appropriations, upon a resolution offered by Forsyth, and a new letter to me

from McLane, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means. The President was for sustaining all the Diplomatic missions, as now authorized. I thought otherwise; but am to prepare and submit to him a draft of an answer to McLane's letter.

He showed me also a letter from Dr. Floyd, the Chairman of the Columbia River settlement, to the Secretary of War, asking for the views of the Executive on that subject in a military point of view, and as to the control of the Indians. He said this was going beyond the line of the Secretary of War's duties. He thought, therefore, of sending a message recommending the establishment of a military post on the borders of the Pacific, and renewing the proposition for the Yellowstone River projected post, which he said he had recommended, as Secretary of War, immediately after the Peace of 1815, which Floyd and Cocke, with the help of Mr. Clay, had broken up; in consequence of which we had suffered Indian hostilities. These men now saw their own wrong, and were moving round and round to get themselves out of the position in which they had placed themselves. He read me an extract from his report of 1815, and said he had been much censured for assuming the responsibility of directing advances of money for the Yellowstone expedition; but he read to me an address which he had received at Lexington in July, 1819, most earnestly recommending the undertaking, and signed by Isaac Shelby, General Jackson, Mr. Barry, of Kentucky, and several others of the first respectability.

I told him that I thought the exposition of his views in the proposed message would be entirely proper, but suggested the doubt whether, connected with the enquiries of Dr. Floyd to Mr. Calhoun, they might not be represented as having a bearing to defeat the establishment of the post on the Pacific.

Mrs. Hay gave a party this evening at the President's house, to which the foreign Ministers were invited—a new movement, which causes speculation.

7th. The nomination of N. Edwards as Minister to Mexico was confirmed in the Senate last Thursday. The threatened opposition was not made, and he says there were not more than four or six votes against his appointment. He read me

several letters: one from Ogden Edwards, at New York, just received by Alfred, confident that the vote of New York cannot be for Crawford, and that the Electoral bill will pass. I think the indications strongly otherwise. One from a General White, in Illinois, who says D. P. Cook wastes ammunition upon him. Edwards will resign his seat in the Senate to-morrow, and will wait for his instructions to go to Mexico.

8th. Dr. Thornton came in this morning, and spoke of his memorial to Congress for an increase of his salary. The Doctor mentioned also the result of the Convention last Thursday at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, which was the nomination of Andrew Jackson, by one hundred and twenty-four votes out of one hundred and twenty-five, for election as President of the United States, and John C. Calhoun, by eighty-eight, as Vice-President.

Mr. McLean, the Postmaster-General, came to recommend a son of Judge Burnet, of Ohio, for appointment as Secretary of Legation to R. C. Anderson, Minister to the republic of Colombia. I desired him to send a recommendation in writing, with recommendations. McLean spoke to me also of the Harrisburg nomination, and of the dispositions of the members of the present Legislature of Ohio. He said they had agreed upon two electoral tickets, one for Clay and one for me. It was impossible to say which would prevail, but he believed Mr. Clay's prospects were waning. Clay's only hope now is of taking all the deserters from Crawford in New York. McLean thought Calhoun would be better suited to a more active station than the Vice-Presidency.

9th. There was, at one o'clock, a Cabinet meeting at the President's; Calhoun and Southard present. It was principally to read the draft of a message to both Houses of Congress, recommending the establishment of a military post high up the Missouri River, and another on the Pacific Ocean, at the mouth of the Columbia River or at the Straits of Juan de Fuca. But it was a strong argument against making any territorial settlement on the Pacific, with a decided expression of an opinion that they would necessarily soon separate from this Union.

I suggested doubts of the expediency or necessity of communicating such an opinion.

Calhoun supported and enlarged upon my objections, and Southard concurred with us. The voice against the message was unanimous, and the President concluded not to send it.

Calhoun thought there would be no separation should we make settlements on the Pacific Ocean, and I inclined to the same opinion. He said the passion for aggrandizement was the law paramount of man in society, and that there was no example in history of the disruption of a nation from itself by voluntary separation.

I contested this, and cited the case of the tribes of Israel. He admitted this was an exception, but said it was the only one. The position was not correct. The separation of Portugal from Spain, and of Sweden from Denmark and Norway, might have been mentioned; but I did not press the discussion. We agreed in the result. I thought a Government by federation would be found practicable upon a territory as extensive as this continent, and that the tendency of our popular sentiments was increasingly towards union.

The President spoke also respecting the appointment of a Fourth Auditor. Calhoun and Southard were against the abolition of the office. The propriety of appointing a member of Congress was discussed. I thought a member should not be appointed. Calhoun and Southard thought a rule should be established at the commencement of an Administration against appointing members to subaltern offices; but now to exclude members would seem invidious.

The appointment of E. Bates as District Attorney in Missouri was also mentioned. The President fears to nominate him, Scott, the Representative, and Benton, the Senator, being violent against him. The State is distracted with parties, and there have been three or four fatal duels, arising from charges of official malversation against a General Rector, of the Land Office. Bates is one of Rector's accusers, and the President seeks some person not engaged in these controversies. He has talked with Governor McNair, of Missouri, now here, and says there is a Mr. Geyer named to him as excellently well qualified, and a no-party man.

I said there was another view of the subject deserving con-

sideration. Bates had openly denounced Rector for gross official abuses. Rector, instead of making a solid defence, was supported by the pistols of his friends. Was this a good objection to the appointment of Bates? Calhoun and Southard both supported my remarks, and the President said he believed the charges against Rector were well founded. He has long since been called upon for explanations, and must soon give them or be dismissed. Calhoun said the propriety of appointing Bates would depend on the decision concerning Rector; and so it was left.

Dined at Baron Tuyl's, with a company of about twenty. Evening party and dance at Mr. Wirt's. Crowninshield said some of Calhoun's friends were desirous that mine should vote for him as Vice-President. I asked him if Calhoun himself wished it. He did not know. I said that was first to be ascertained; I thought he did not wish it; but that some of his friends might wish mine to pledge themselves, by supporting him for the Vice-Presidency, to an exterminating hostility against Crawford's interest. I did not think this would be either just or expedient.

10th. The Count de Menou, Chargé d'Affaires from France, came to speak of the publication of a notice that certificates of origin would be required in France upon importations from the United States to entitle them to the benefit of the Convention. We conversed also upon general topics, and I spoke to him of the newspaper accounts of a large squadron fitting out at Brest. He said he had no doubt there was exaggeration in the accounts; that a squadron of three frigates in the Pacific had returned to France, and were to be replaced; that the garrisons of the French islands in the West Indies were perhaps to be relieved, and that the French Government might be disposed to contribute its share to the suppression of piracy in those seas.

I told him I discredited altogether the suspicions abroad that this squadron was destined to act against any part of South America, particularly as I knew there had been explanations upon the subject, which had passed between the British and French Governments; and as related to South America, I presumed that no interposition of France between them and Spain

would take place without consulting the United States as well as her European allies. This appeared to startle him a little, and he said he did not see that France was bound to consult the United States as to the time when *she* should recognize the South American Governments. I said, by no means; it was not when she should recognize them, but whether she should interfere between them and Spain, to which my observation applied. He did not pursue the subject further.

11th. Mr. Fuller called, and I had a long conversation with him upon the Massachusetts claim, and upon a motion of John Forsyth's for reducing the sum estimated in the Appropriation bill, now before the House of Representatives, for the diplomatic intercourse. He began with a general assault upon the whole estimate, proposing a discontinuance of the Plenipotentiary missions in Spain and Portugal, as well as all those in South America. But, failing in this, he has finished by proposing to strike out the item of salary for a Minister to Lima. This may be spared without inconvenience, and I do not regret the appearance of this disposition in the House.

Mr. Southard, Secretary of the Navy, came to ask for a letter from Commodore Stewart which he had sent me, and which I had just sent back to the Navy Department. Southard talked with me largely upon election prospects, and was apparently desirous of ascertaining my sentiments concerning Calhoun and Jackson. I gave them to him without reserve. The Pennsylvania Convention at Harrisburg have nominated Jackson for President, and Calhoun Vice-President. Southard thought the Vice-Presidency was not the place for Calhoun, but yet seemed inclined that he should be voted for to it. He asked who my friends would vote for. I told him, probably Jackson. He asked if that would not strengthen Jackson's chance of success for the *Presidency*. I had no doubt it would. But what then? My friends would vote for him on correct principle—his fitness for the place, the fitness of the place for him, and the peculiar advantage of the geographical association. If by voting for him as Vice-President my friends should induce others to vote for him as President, they and I must abide by the issue. It is, upon the whole, the best course to be taken, and, besides,

the impulse to that course in the popular feeling is given. It is too late to withstand or to control it.

Southard said he had seen a member of the Harrisburg Convention, who had given him a very detailed account of their proceedings; that the presence of H. Baldwin, though not a member, and considered as a Crawfordite under a Jackson mask, had occasioned much agitation; and that multitudes of letters had been received from this place reporting a coalition between Crawford and me. The person to whom Southard alluded, though he did not name him to me, was Mr. McIlvaine, a son of the Senator from New Jersey.

12th. Received a note from the President requesting the attendance of Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Southard, and me at his house at ten o'clock this morning. We met there accordingly. The first subject of consultation was a letter from McLane, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, to Mr. Crawford, enquiring whether, in consequence of the decease of the Fourth Auditor, any appropriation for the salary of that officer would be necessary, and how the appropriations of the year would be affected by that event. Mr. Crawford, who is yet unwell, though convalescent, had endorsed a reference of this letter to the President, remarking that if the office should be abolished, as the President had inclined to the opinion that it might be, the appropriation for the salary would be unnecessary.

Calhoun and Southard now thought that the office could not be abolished without doubling the labors of the Third Auditor, Peter Hagner, already overlabored. It was proposed to call upon him to say whether he could do the additional duties of the Fourth Auditor; but I suggested that to require of him a formal report upon that question would be placing him in a delicate and awkward position, which, considering him as a most excellent officer, would be hardly dealing fairly with him.

I proposed that Mr. Crawford should answer Mr. McLane's letter by observing that the question upon the expediency of abolishing the office would require time and deliberation to decide; and that in the mean time, if the appropriation should

be made, it would remain unexpended in case the result of the examination should be to abolish the office. It was determined accordingly.

The next subject submitted for consideration by the President was more important. By a compact made between the United States and the State of Georgia in 1802, the United States stipulated to extinguish as soon as should be practicable, peaceably and upon reasonable terms, the Indian titles to lands within the State of Georgia. And since that time many treaties have been made, and many millions of miles purchased, in fulfilment of the article; the State of Georgia continually pressing to obtain more. At last the Cherokees have come to the determination that they will on no consideration part with any more of their lands, and their delegation now here have most explicitly so declared, in answer to a letter from the Secretary of War strongly urging upon them the necessity of a further cession. The answer of the Cherokees was communicated to the Georgia delegation here, and they have addressed to the President a letter of remarks upon the correspondence between the Secretary of War and the Cherokees, which the President said was an insult. It is in terms of the most acrimonious reproach against the Government of the United States, whom it charges almost in terms with fraud and hypocrisy, while it broadly insinuates that the obstinacy of the Cherokees is instigated by the Secretary of War himself. Calhoun remarked that it was in the handwriting of Cobb, but it was signed by the two Senators, Elliott and Ware, and by all the members of the House from the State, excepting Tatnall, who is not here.

The question was how it should be treated.

The conclusion was, that the President should send a message to Congress, with the correspondence, and an exposition of what has been done by the Government of the United States in fulfilment of the compact. Calhoun thought that the message should communicate, but take no notice of, the letter of the Georgia delegation. I said, as the charges of the letter could not be overlooked, it was scarcely possible to avoid a direct allusion to it, and I thought it indispensable that it should in substance be fully answered.

The President said it should be answered, and in the tone of defiance best suited to it.

Southard said Georgia would find very little support in Congress to such a paper as that.

The President said he had never received such a paper.

I said it was an issue tendered between Georgia and the Government of the United States.

Calhoun dwelt upon its incorrectness with regard to the facts; and I observed it was a peremptory demand to do by force, and upon most unreasonable terms, that which had been stipulated only to be done peaceably, and upon reasonable terms.

It was asked what could have kindled this raging fever for Indian lands.

Calhoun thought it was the State system of disposing of them by lottery—a system which, he said, was immoral and corrupt, instigating insatiable cupidity for lands, and alternately seized by the conflicting parties as engines for the advancement of one upon the ruin of the other.

I suspected this bursting forth of Georgia upon the Government of the United States was ominous of other events. We were kept till past three at the President's.

13th. Strong, of Albany, came, with the papers relating to his petition to Congress, against which the committee have reported. He had also much to say of a secret design which he suspected Mr. Van Buren to entertain to bring in De Witt Clinton as President. Mr. Bailey was here, still much out of health, and with the report of the Committee of Elections against him not taken up by the House.

At the office. Mr. R. King came with Mr. Wheaton, who is a member of the New York Legislature, and will leave the city next Tuesday to return to Albany. Wheaton wished to converse with me concerning the Presidential election. His great apprehension appeared to be the rumored coalition between Crawford and myself.

I told him what had passed in relation to this subject; the overtures from some of Mr. Crawford's friends, and the answers given by me to them—with which he expressed himself fully satisfied.

I mentioned to him the letter that I had received from Mr. Tallmadge, and told him the substance of my answer.

After he withdrew, I had further conversation with Mr. King, concerning the commercial intercourse with the British West India Colonies, the affair between the President and W. Lowrie, the Senator from Pennsylvania, and the letter to the President from the Georgia delegation; upon all which I found his opinions concurring with my own.

Mr. Addington, the British, and the Count de Menou, the French Chargé d'Affaires, successively came, apparently to obtain information concerning the recent intelligence from Europe. There are dispatches and letters from London to the 17th of February, a vessel having arrived in sixteen days from Liverpool, at Boston. I spoke to Addington of a notice from the British Vice-Consulate at Portland concerning an Act of the Legislature of the island of Jamaica, published in the newspapers, and told him I should write him a note to enquire if it was authentic. He said he did not know. I observed that we should have occasion to animadvert upon it in two points of view: first, as an official act of a British Consulate in the United States, relating to their commercial intercourse with the island of Jamaica, while no Consul from the United States was allowed to reside in that island; and, secondly, as laying our shipping and merchants trading there under additional duties and burdens.

Addington spoke also to me again upon the affair of the duties on rolled and hammered iron.

14th. In the evening, Mr. John W. Taylor, the member from the State of New York, called on me, and we were in conversation of interest, when Dr. Lovell came in to enquire if Mr. John M. Forbes was at Buenos Ayres. Taylor mentioned to me the postponement by the Senate of New York to the 1st of November next, or, in other words, the rejection of the bill which had passed the House of Assembly, for giving the choice of the electors of President and Vice-President of the United States, for that State, to the people. Taylor says that Van Buren announces that the next step will be the confirmation by a legislative caucus of the Congressional caucus nomination,

but Taylor's own letters from Albany all say that there is not a majority of the Legislature in favor of Crawford.

Van Buren's information is probably the most correct, and I now set down the New York votes as nearly certain for Crawford. The union of New York and Virginia will thus be consummated under inauspicious omens: a minority caucus in Congress, and an anti-popular legislative usurpation in the State of New York. And, after all, it is insufficient to make the final election of Crawford even probable.

15th. I called at the President's with the dispatches last received from H. Nelson and from R. Rush. The President told me that last Saturday Mr. Crawford had called at his house; that he had appeared to be much mortified at the letter from the Georgia delegation, which the President had shown him, and had expressed a wish that they might be induced to withdraw it; that the President told him they might withdraw it if they pleased, but it must be their own act, and not at his desire. He gave me also to read a letter from the Governor of Georgia to the Secretary at War upon the same subject, which, he said, though in some respects exceptionable, was in a different spirit from the delegation letter, and contained a refutation of their insinuations of duplicity on the part of the General Government.

I dined at General Jackson's, with a company of about twenty-five—Heads of Departments, members of Congress, and officers of the army and navy. Clay and Calhoun were there. It was the General's birthday, and apparently the occasion upon which he gave the dinner. Clay had been arguing in the Supreme Court this morning the case of the Apollon against the Government, and had taken the opportunity of being, as he professed, very severe upon me. At the dinner he became warm, vehement, and absurd upon the tariff, and persisted in discussing it, against two or three attempts of Eaton to change the subject of the conversation. He is so ardent, dogmatical, and overbearing that it is extremely difficult to preserve the temper of friendly society with him. I had some conversation with Mr. Southard, who sat next me at table, on the Georgia delegation letter, which he thought would not be taken back. I

thought it would, *at the intercession of Mr. Crawford;* and had a suspicion that it was written and sent with that intention. Southard said this was to him a new view of the subject.

16th. I called this morning on T. Newton, Chairman of the Committee of Commerce. Mr. S. Breck, a member of the House from Pennsylvania, offered a resolution founded upon newspaper reports of proceedings in the British Parliament relating to our commercial intercourse with the British West India Colonies. Newton opposed the resolution, which was of a reference to the Committee of Commerce, of which he is Chairman.

I told him I wished him to let the resolution pass, and send me a copy of it, asking for my observations upon it, as it would give me an opportunity for making a communication to the committee, and through them to Congress, which I was desirous of doing. He said he would assent to the passage of the resolution.

I received a message from the President to go to his house, and, arriving there, I found General Jackson reading his answer to an address which the President had read to him on presenting him the medal voted by a resolution of Congress of 27th February, 1815, for the victory of 8th January at New Orleans.

Immediately afterwards the President read an address to Judge Todd, as the representative of Governor Isaac Shelby, on delivering him a medal voted by resolution of Congress of 4th April, 1818, for his good conduct at the battle of the Thames, on the 5th of October, 1813. The Judge read an answer to the President's address.

The whole ceremony was over in a quarter of an hour or less, and there were not more than thirty persons present, among whom were the ladies of the President's family.

Mr. Poinsett spoke to me of Breck's resolution, and I gave him, as I had given to Mr. Newton, my reasons for wishing that it might pass.

17th. Mr. George Sullivan came, and showed me a letter which he proposed sending to his brother-in-law, Winthrop, urging the publication of his late letter to Governor Eustis, by a long argument, concerning which he asked my advice. I

asked the motive for writing it. He said, that it might be read to Eustis. I said there were three points upon which the exposure of W. King's designs would bear: 1, on Sullivan's defence against King's public denunciation; 2, on the prospects of the claim; 3, on the Presidential election. For the first, I believed it necessary for Sullivan's full justification. As to the second, I was altogether doubtful whether its operation upon the claim would be favorable or adverse, and could not advise. As to the third, I had no doubt the effect would be favorable to me, but must set that consideration aside and distrust my own judgment, lest it should be improperly biassed by my own interest.

Sullivan thought the effect must be favorable to the claim, by exasperating all Crawford's friends against it, and thereby uniting the friends of all the other candidates in its support.

I said I believed Governor Eustis, for various reasons, would be strenuously against the publication, and I advised Sullivan to give full consideration to the arguments he would urge against it. Sullivan said he intended to go into the House of Representatives of Massachusetts this year, and thought he should make a very good Speaker. And in the House he would take care that full justice should be done to himself.

I attended this evening, alone, the drawing-room at the President's. Less company than usual. Bad weather. Heard of Mr. Wirt's reply this day before the Supreme Court to Clay's attack upon the Administration and upon me, on Monday, in the case of the Apollon. G. Hay was in raptures at the scourging Clay received. Clay spoke of it to me himself, but in a very humble tone compared to that of Monday. Clay said he had wanted a half an hour for reply. I said he should have thought of that when he attacked me where he knew I *could* not reply. He said Wirt had made my letter to De Neuville a part of his argument. I told him he had fine scope for assailing me where I was not present to defend myself, but in this instance I had been gratified to learn that my defence had fallen into better hands than my own.

19th. Colonel R. M. Johnson, of the Senate, was here, soliciting a Consular appointment for Mr. Savage at Guayaquil. I

advised him rather to think of the island of St. Bartholomew. Johnson says Mr. Crawford's friends, particularly Governor Barbour, are very sanguine of his election, and entirely sure of the vote of New York. They consider all prospect of my being supported as having vanished, and that all New England will abandon me and vote for Crawford. I believe Mr. Crawford's prospects and mine equally unpromising. Intrigue against the voice of the people will probably give him New York. Virginia, Georgia, North Carolina, and Delaware will also probably be for him; but no others; and if New York fails him he will decline and withdraw.[1] Whether all New England will support me is yet problematical, and the rest is yet more uncertain. The issue must be where it ought to be, and my duty is cheerful acquiescence in the event.

A son of the late James A. Bayard came to the office, for two objects: first, as an executor, jointly with L. McLane, of his father's will, to claim a half outfit for the negotiation of the Convention of July, 1815, because Mr. Bayard was joined in the commission for that negotiation, though he did not go to London upon it. His accounts have been long since settled, but he takes ground from the allowances to Mr. Clay and Mr. Gallatin, and says Mr. Clay encourages him to make the claim, and Mr. McLane considers it as a vested right.

I told him if he should make the claim I should refer it to the President, who had made the allowance to Mr. Clay, after taking the opinion of the Attorney-General, and against mine.

He thought he must make the claim. His second purpose was, to solicit the appointment of Secretary of Legation to France, in the event of D. Sheldon's return home this year, which, he said, was expected.

I had no reason for such expectation, but promised to befriend him if Sheldon should return.

I received a note from the President, asking me to return the letter from Governor Troup, of Georgia, to the Secretary of War, which he had given me some days ago. I took the letter over to the President's house, and, he being out, left it upon his

[1] New York did fail him, but he did not withdraw. The four States mentioned adhered to him even through the last struggle in the House of Representatives.

table. He came afterwards to the office, and spoke of the joint letter from the Georgia delegation to him. He said that Mr. Crawford, in pursuance of the desire expressed by himself that they should withdraw the paper, had seen Mr. Elliott, the Senator, and he had consulted with the rest of the delegation, who thereupon determined not to withdraw the paper, nor to hold any consultation with Mr. Crawford concerning it.

Governor Barbour, of Virginia, told the President that the paper was written by Forsyth, and copied by Cobb.

The President is deeply affected by it. He thinks it proceeds from Forsyth and Cobb's eagerness for popularity in Georgia, stimulated by the passion of the people for lands which are distributed among them by *lottery*, under the State laws; and by party ambition to outdo the Clarke faction in the State.

He said there were three courses, either of which he might pursue, with regard to the paper: one, to send it back to the writers; another, to keep it without answering it; the third, to send it to Congress. Of these, the last was the most advisable.

I suggested to him the expediency of referring the paper to the Secretary of War for a report. In this, the errors both of fact and of principle might be fully exposed, and then both papers might be sent by message to Congress together. And I reminded him that this was the course adopted when R. W. Meade memorialized him against the second ratification of the Florida Treaty.

He said he thought he would take this course.

20th. Mr. N. Edwards, the newly-appointed Minister to Mexico, called this morning, and made enquiries of the manner in which it will be most expedient for him to proceed upon his mission. It is most advisable for him to proceed hence to New Orleans, and there embark, to land within a few miles of Vera Cruz. He also gave me an explanatory account of his own conduct personally towards me for the last three years. It was apologetic and excusatory. He had begun by volunteering as my friend, and then, by his own account, abandoned me for Calhoun, because he thought there was no possible chance in my favor, and because his great object, paramount to

all others, was to put down Crawford. I told him with candor all that had rested upon my mind in the variations of his dispositions and conduct towards me; assuring him that I retained no sentiment of animosity for it.

He declared to me his conviction that it was the attack of Jonathan Russell upon me and its consequences which had brought me up as a candidate for the Presidency. But for that, he is persuaded, I should have been out of the question. He says also that the winter before that occurrence, when he and Clay boarded at Mrs. Peyton's, Clay intimated to him that he intended to operate against me with that Mississippi and fishery dispute, and he has no doubt it was then that Clay stimulated Floyd, who also then lodged at Mrs. Peyton's, to his movements of the succeeding winter. He says nothing that Clay ever did in the whole course of his life has hurt his character so much as his Parthian shaft at me, and his subsequent flinching from the contest that he had challenged.

At the office Mr. Bailey called for a moment; but I was engaged with Mr. R. King, who came and mentioned to me the debate which has been the last two days in discussion before the Senate. He told me the substance of his remarks on the central power which, by the combination of certain individual members from two of the great States, was establishing itself here at Washington to control the Constitution itself. I suggested to him the wish that he would reduce to writing the purport of his observations and publish them—to which he appeared disposed to assent.

We spoke also of the approaching controversy between the Georgia delegation and the Executive Government of the United States. I told him the course that I had recommended to the President concerning it; he thought it the best that could be taken.

21st. I called at the beginning of the evening upon Colonel John Taylor, the Senator from Virginia, and R. P. Garnett, the member of the House, who has just returned from a visit home. Taylor continues low in health and feeble. He repeated to me the anecdote concerning Patrick Henry which he had related some weeks since at my house: that in the campaign

of 1781 Henry actually proposed in a secret session of the Legislature of Virginia that she should be the first to submit to Great Britain, in order that she might obtain the most favorable terms. Taylor was himself a member of the Legislature, and heard him move to go into secret session, there make the proposition, and support it by an eloquent speech. It met with such immediate, indignant, and universal opposition that when the debate closed he had changed his side, and was among the most ardent and sanguine for perseverance in the war. Taylor thinks there is great exaggeration in the panegyric upon Henry by Mr. Wirt, and says that Henry had much less efficient agency in the Revolution than many others.

He spoke also of the debates in Senate on Thursday and Friday last, which he said would continue, and intimated his intention to take further part in them. He told me that the alteration of the Constitution in 1803, of the mode of electing the President and Vice-President, had been determined upon in a caucus, and the introduction of the amendment had been assigned to him. He had introduced it, and it was carried, but he now repented of it, and would be in favor of Mr. Mills's amendment, to repeal that amendment and restore the Constitution as it originally was.

23d. Went into the House of Representatives, where they were debating upon the Tariff bill. It has occupied the House several weeks, and is not nearly finished. Many of the members came and conversed with me. Plumer told me that Forsyth had mentioned to him his having heard that I had made a declaration of hostility to Crawford at the last drawing-room, and had stated that the friends of Mr. Crawford had since the commencement of the present session of Congress changed their views favorably towards me; that they had come here intending to combine the interests of Mr. Clay with those of Mr. Crawford, but that Clay had alienated them by his conduct, and now they were more amicable towards me; that Forsyth had spoken to Plumer confidentially, but with permission to him to communicate what he said to me.

I desired Plumer to tell Forsyth that I had never made any declaration of hostility to Mr. Crawford, and felt none. But

when told that I had made or agreed to a coalition with Mr. Crawford to serve under him, I had denied it, and had said that if my friends should ultimately be compelled to vote for another man, I did not believe Crawford would be the man.

J. W. Taylor read to me part of two letters he had received from Albany; one from Mr. Cramer, the Senator, pressing the necessity of concentrating upon one man the opposition to Crawford. This is the Clintonian policy, and looks to Jackson. The mining and countermining upon this Presidential election is an admirable study of human nature. The mist into which Calhoun's bubble broke settles upon Jackson, who is now taking the fragments of Clinton's party. Those of Clay will also fall chiefly to him and his sect, and Crawford's are now working for mine. They both consider my prospects as desperate, and are scrambling for my spoils. I can do no more than satisfy them that I have no purchasable interest. My friends will go over to whomsoever they may prefer—some to one and some to another.

24th. H. G. Burton, of North Carolina, came this morning to converse with me upon the same subject of which Forsyth had spoken to Plumer—the rumor of a declaration of hostility by me at the last drawing-room against Crawford. I told him I had made no declaration of hostility against Crawford, and felt none. I did not recollect having conversed with any one at the last drawing-room upon the subject; but I had said, in answer to questions whether I had assented to a coalition with Mr. Crawford in subordination to him, that no such coalition existed; that it was impossible that I should form a part of an Administration under Mr. Crawford, and that if my friends should ultimately vote for another, I did not believe Mr. Crawford would be the man.

Burton said that he felt very anxious for the event of Mr. Crawford's being withdrawn; that his health was exceedingly precarious; that his life was very uncertain, and he (Burton) was very anxious that in the event of Crawford's failure I should have the next support of his friends. He was especially afraid of Western politics, and of Clay.

I went over the ground again with Burton, and assigned to

him the decisive objections to my serving under Mr. Crawford: that I could not place myself in that relation to him with the feelings essential to a zealous and heart-prompted discharge of its duties, nor without sacrificing not only my personal standing towards Crawford, as from man to man, but also that of my own section of the country to his. So far as it would be a sacrifice of mere personal pride, I could make it; but as that of the relative consideration of my State and section, I could not.

Burton said he had told Crawford of my remarks to the same effect heretofore; to which Crawford had answered that there was great weight in them, but that he still thought his chance for election better than mine.

That, I observed, was to be determined by the event. Perhaps neither of us might prove to be the strongest. I told him further, that intimations of a similar character to those that I had received from Mr. Crawford's friends had since been made by partisans of General Jackson, and had received answers substantially the same.

25th. B. W. Crowninshield called, and left with me a letter to him from General H. A. S. Dearborn, enclosing a copy of one from him to Colonel Towson; an answer to one from Towson canvassing for Dearborn's influence to obtain the election of Calhoun as Vice-President. Dearborn answers that this is impossible; that the impulse there is given for Jackson as Vice-President, and that Calhoun must be Secretary of State.

Crowninshield could not wait, but said he would call upon me in a day or two again. Wyer was here, and told me Colonel Taylor of Caroline, the Senator from Virginia, had mentioned to him that there was a rumor circulated in that State that my father had made his will, bequeathing his estate to a public institution, or to his native town, and that from this it was inferred that I was laboring under his displeasure, and it was producing unfavorable political impressions concerning my personal character. He said Colonel Taylor had thoughts of writing to my father about it. I told Wyer that I should be glad if Colonel Taylor would write; that my father's conduct

to me had been that of a most affectionate father; and that he had not left it to the disposal of a will to bestow upon me my portion of his estate. He had conveyed it to me by deed, irrevocable by himself. I stated to him the various dispositions advantageous to me already made by my father, and his undeviating kindness to me. This utterly groundless rumor is a new ingredient in the electioneering cauldron. What next?

26th. I had received a note from the President, summoning a Cabinet meeting at one; and found there Messrs. Calhoun, Southard, and Wirt. Mr. Crawford is yet convalescent, and nearly well, but not sufficiently so to attend this day.

The President had a letter to *him* from the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, McLane, requesting various statements respecting the transaction of business in the Auditors' Offices, and his (the President's) *opinion* whether, without public inconvenience, the office of Fourth Auditor may be suppressed. The same questions had already been presented in a letter from McLane to the Secretary of the Treasury upon the General Appropriation bill. That was referred by Mr. Crawford to the President, and by him, after a Cabinet meeting, back to the Treasury for a report, which, owing probably to Mr. Crawford's illness, has not been made.

The present application from the Chairman of the committee directly to the President was thought improper, and of dangerous tendency as a precedent. The proper course to take with it was to refer it to the Treasury Department for a report, and that the President should request Mr. McLane to call upon him and personally suggest to him the necessity of giving it that direction. Whether the President should write to Mr. McLane inviting him to call, or send him a message by Dr. Everett, his private Secretary, was matter of doubt. Discussion between the President and committees of either House of Congress can never be proper, and are never sought but by Chairmen of committees disaffected to the Executive.

The President also read the draft of a message that he had prepared to send to Congress upon the recent correspondence with the Cherokee chiefs, and the remonstrance and protest of

the Georgia delegation. He will send them all as documents, with a report from the Secretary of War, containing statements of facts, but without noticing the Georgia protest. The draft of the message also referring to the positive demand of the Georgians that the Cherokees should be removed from their State by force, recommending to Congress profoundly to weigh the obligations of the Union to Georgia, and the rights of the Indians, concluded by saying that, as the refusal of the Cherokees to remove was absolute and peremptory, Congress alone were competent to authorize the employment of force to remove them.

I observed that there was so much neutrality between the parties in this, that the message might be construed into a recommendation to Congress to authorize the use of force, and if this was not intended, something should be said to show that Georgia had no right to claim it, and that the Indians had perfect right on their side in refusing to remove.

This remark was supported by Calhoun and Southard, and the President wrote a paragraph of that import, to be inserted in the message.

I expressed the opinion also that the report of the Secretary of War to the President should directly notice and answer the charges of the Georgia remonstrance against the Government of the United States.

Mr. Southard wished that this might be done; but that the Department of State should be charged with it.

Calhoun was not inclined to undertake it, and said the charges were of a nature which did not admit of being answered. They were charges of bad faith, of fraud, and hypocrisy. The exertions of humanity and the measures for promoting the civilization of the Indians were stigmatized as perfidy towards Georgia. How was it possible to answer this?

I thought it by no means difficult to answer; but, as Mr. Calhoun seemed unwilling to undertake it, I did not urge it. Perhaps silence is the best answer to imputations so gross and unfounded.

27th. Mr. Seymour, a Senator, and Mr. Mallary, a Representative, from Vermont, came to converse upon the prospects of the

Presidential election. What were the views of Mr. Clay, of Mr. Crawford, of General Jackson, of Mr. Calhoun, and of their respective friends? Since I gave so explicitly my last answers to Forsyth and Burton, that I could assent to no coalition to support Mr. Crawford for the Presidency, and that I could form no part of an Administration under him, his canvassers have turned to the courtship of Mr. Clay and his friends. Mallary said that he had no doubt the main force of Clay would go to Crawford; in which I entirely concurred. I was also fully convinced that the main force of De Witt Clinton, and the stragglers of Calhoun, will go over to Jackson.

Seymour appeared anxious to ascertain for whom it would be best to vote as Vice-President. I said I believed the popular feeling in New England had already received such an impulse that it was no longer controllable, nor did I think it worth while to attempt the control of it. I was convinced it would give no dissatisfaction to General Jackson, or his friends, that he should be voted for as Vice-President by those who should support me for the Presidency, and if others should carry him to the Presidency itself, we must, as in every other event of the same election, acquiesce in the voice of the nation, as delivered through its constitutional organs. I told them I was very sure I had nothing to expect, and was not willing to have anything to ask, in the way of support to me from any other candidate or his friends. I desired to stand only upon my own ground, and would not crave assistance from any other quarter. I wished my friends to vote for Jackson as Vice-President, because I thought the place suited to him and him suited to the place. The thing was fitting in itself, and perfectly well suited to the usual geographical distribution of the two offices. On public principles it was unexceptionable, and I would not look further for determining motives.

Mr. Cheves, the Commissioner, and Mr. Seawell, the Arbitrator, upon the Slave Indemnity Commission, came to inform me of the present state of things in that board, and to advise with me concerning its future proceedings. The object of the British Commissioner and Arbitrator is to protract, and ultimately to disagree, and there is doubt whether in the disagree-

ment itself they will make a question which the umpire will be able to decide. The evidence of the average value is now closed on the part of this Government, and the British Commissioner asks of ours to propose a specific sum, intending then to propose one on his part and then support it by documentary evidence. And as the right of offering any evidence on their part is questioned, he proposes to offer his documents not as evidence, but as argument in support of his estimate. Mr. Jackson, it seems, considers the question of the average value not as a point to be decided upon his oath, but as a preliminary negotiation. Mr. Cheves asked whether it would not be better ultimately to make some sacrifice upon the average value, rather than hazard the consequences of a difference upon that point.

I thought it would, but not to any considerable amount.

29th. Received a note from the President calling a Cabinet meeting at one, which I attended. Calhoun, Southard, and Wirt were there. Southard said he had been told that Mr. Crawford had sent the President a message to inform him that his health was now sufficiently restored to attend Administration meetings, if he should call him to them.

The President said Mr. Crawford might have said this to Dr. Everett, but he had heard nothing of it. There were now two subjects for consultation: the renomination of Bates as Collector at Bristol, Rhode Island, and the message on the compact with Georgia and the Cherokee titles. There were specific written charges against Bates by De Wolfe, the Senator from Rhode Island, and two large bundles of papers for and against him. Owing to the illness of Mr. Crawford, or to his unwillingness to decide on the case, nothing has been determined at the Treasury Department; and the President, after having examined all the papers himself, had yet not made up his mind on the merits. There had been a reference to the First Comptroller, Anderson. The President now sent for him, and he came. He could not make an unfavorable report upon the part of the complaint submitted to him, but he was competent only to pronounce on the accounts, and not on the employment of moneys, and he flinched from all superfluous respon-

sibility. Bates's term of service expires on the 5th of next month, and a speedy nomination to the office is necessary.

After various expedients suggested and discarded, the President wrote a note to Mr. Crawford, referring the papers to him for a report, and suggesting that if the state of his health does not admit of his preparing it he may charge his Chief Clerk with it.

Southard asked me who had signed all Crawford's warrants throughout the winter. I supposed himself. Southard said he had been for months unable to write his name.

On the Georgia compact and Indian land rights the President read a new draft of a message, different from that of the last meeting. In this he very distinctly declared his opinion that the Indians cannot, with justice, be removed from their lands within the State of Georgia by force. But, after setting forth all that has been done by the Government of the Union in fulfilment of the compact, the positive refusal of the Cherokees to cede any more of their lands upon any terms whatever, and the impossibility of devising any other means short of force to prevail upon them to go, there was a new and rather elaborate argument introduced, of the absolute necessity that the Indians should remove west of the Mississippi; and, after concluding that nothing further could be done by the Executive, there were direct intimations that something should be done by Congress.

I objected that this gave an appearance of incongruity to the message, for it was an issue between the national Executive and the Georgia delegation; and after taking completely from under them the ground upon which they themselves stood, it gave them new ground to stand upon. It gave them the means of peremptorily claiming something further, and immediately, from Congress. And if that was intended, I insisted that the Executive ought to have some practicable project matured and requiring nothing but the sanction of Congress to carry it into effect.

The President said that no such project was prepared, nor had he any particular measure in view. Five or six years since, about one-third part of the Cherokee nation were pre-

vailed upon to surrender their lands and remove beyond the Mississippi, and there is now in the city a deputation from them also, complaining that they are as much disturbed and crowded upon by the whites as they were before their removal.

I asked if it could be supposed that the deputation from the old Georgia Cherokees, now here, were ignorant of this, or that they would be encouraged to abandon their old establishments for promises of a new one such as their tribesmen had found west of the Mississippi.

Calhoun and Southard inclined to support my remarks.

Mr. Wirt proposed the omission of certain passages directly recommending to Congress to decide upon some measure to be taken. But I thought the proposal of a measure necessarily followed from the purport of the argument, which I thought it would be best to omit altogether.

The President said he would consider of it further.

Mr. Calhoun read the draft of his report to the President upon the papers, which was a full statement of facts, showing all that has been done in performance of the compact, but with scarcely an allusion to the paper signed by the Georgia delegation. The President spoke of the compact as a very unfavorable bargain to the United States—as it certainly was. Mr. Calhoun thinks that the great difficulty arises from the progress of the Cherokees in civilization. They are now, within the limits of Georgia, about fifteen thousand, and increasing in equal proportion with the whites; all cultivators, with a representative government, judicial courts, Lancaster schools, and permanent property. Ridge, Hicks, and Lowry, now here, are principal chiefs, and Ross. They write their own State papers, and reason as logically as most white diplomatists. Each of the chiefs here named possesses from fifty to a hundred thousand dollars property. One of the heaviest grievances of the Georgia delegation is, that in the correspondence between the War Department and these chiefs, there is a letter from the Secretary of War to them, addressing them by the style of "gentlemen." This was an inadvertency of a clerk, overlooked by Calhoun in signing the paper, but in which the Georgians think there was deep design.

The Cabinet meeting continued till near five.

31st. I attended alone the drawing-room at the President's. Thinner than usual. Conversations with W. Plumer, Crowninshield, J. W. Taylor, and Burton. All accounts from Albany unfavorable to the Crawford interest, but otherwise uncertain and contradictory. Taylor's letter from Stewart holds up Clay as predominant. His conversations with Moore, a Calhounite transferred to Jackson. Calhoun's game now is to unite Jackson's supporters and mine upon *him* for Vice-President. Look out for breakers!

Day. I have received in the course of this month two hundred and thirty-five visitors, which is an average of about eight a day. A half an hour to each visitor occupies four hours a day; but that is short of the average. The interruption to business thus incessantly repeated is distressing, but unavoidable.

Lord of all mercy, grant Thy aid!
My soul for Thy behest prepare,
Of bliss or bane, the varied shade,
With humble fortitude to bear.
Submissive to Thy sovereign will,
And led by Thy unerring hand,
Be mine Thy purpose to fulfil,
And Thine, to bless my native land!

April 2d. W. Plumer this morning brought me a pamphlet, sent me by its author, Jacob B. Moore—Annals of the Town of Concord, in New Hampshire. Plumer spoke also of a recent conversation between him and Mr. Van Buren, who was sounding him with a view to bring him over to Mr. Crawford's interest. Van Buren acknowledged himself under personal obligations to me, but said he had supported Crawford as the Republican candidate; that enquiries had been made last summer, in the Albany Argus, whether I was willing to be considered as *the* Republican candidate, and answered not satisfactorily in the New York American. While Plumer was here, Mr. Conway, of Arkansas, came and introduced General Rector, of Missouri. I walked with Plumer to the Capitol, to hear the close of Mr. Webster's speech upon the tariff—which I did. He spoke about an hour; but the principal part of his speech

was delivered yesterday. It was universally admitted to be an able and powerful speech. Many of the members came and spoke to me while I was in the House. Tomlinson, of Connecticut, and Van Rensselaer, of New York (Albany), spoke of accounts received by them from their respective States containing manifestations of opinion against Mr. Crawford, who is now denominated the caucus candidate. J. W. Taylor told me that J. A. Dix had been with him this morning from General Brown, who was extremely anxious himself to see Taylor. The object was to state to Taylor that it was the desire of Mr. Calhoun to be supported for the office of Vice-President; that there was every prospect of a certainty that there would be a majority of the Legislature of New York for me; that the wish of Mr. Calhoun's friends was to fall in with this prospect, and they wished that this arrangement might be further recommended from this place.

Taylor said he believed the best way would be to let the thing take its course.

I said that my friends would do as they should think proper. Personally, and on purely public grounds, I should prefer to see the Vice-Presidency conferred upon General Jackson. I believed the public sentiment among those really my friends was decidedly, perhaps unalterably, the same. The only possible reason for hesitation was Jackson's being a candidate for the first office, and for that reason I thought the course of New York should be left to itself. I had no objection to Mr. Calhoun's obtaining the Vice-Presidency.

C. A. Foote gave me a small colored drawing, directed to Mrs. Adams, sent, as he said, by his eldest sister, a widow Brian—an emblem of friendship. He said his sister and his father were both great Adamsites, though he himself was a caucus man.

I told him, laughing, that his sister was a wiser politician than he—which, he said, was very possible.

Crowninshield, after Webster had finished his speech, had some conversation with him in his seat, and immediately afterwards came to me, and enquired if I had expressed an opinion in favor of the present Tariff bill. I said no—not as it stood.

The double duty upon molasses was, to me, an insuperable objection against it. He said he had just been talking with Webster, and asked him how came on with him Presidential affairs; to which he answered he did not know, and, to tell him the truth, did not care. Why so? Why, it seemed to him nothing was to be got with one more than with another. There was this damned tariff, and our friend J. Q. is as bad upon it as any of the rest. "No," said Crowninshield; "I have understood he was not in favor of this bill." "I had it," said Webster, "from his own lips."

While Crowninshield was telling me this, Webster came out from his seat, and was passing by us. I called to him, and he sat down by me. I asked him if he had said I had told him I was in favor of this Tariff bill as it now stood. He said no: I had had no conversation with him upon the subject; but he had been told last week that, upon some enquiry made of me, I had answered I was in favor of the bill.

Crowninshield had not expected I should so immediately call upon Webster for explanation; and Webster expected it as little. They were both embarrassed. Crowninshield said he had understood Webster to have said he had my opinion directly from myself—which Webster again explicitly disavowed. When he was gone, Mr. Crowninshield told me that Webster had expressly said in words what he had repeated to me; it was impossible that he should have misunderstood him; and added he had not a doubt that Webster had positively engaged to support Calhoun for the Presidency, and was now ready to support any one else. At all events, this incident completes the demonstration of Webster's political feelings towards me. Calhoun and Crawford have both taken hold of his ambition, and he has fallen into their toils.

While I was at the House, my messenger came there and summoned me to the President's, where I found a Cabinet meeting assembled. They had already been two hours or more in session, and all the members but myself were present, Mr. Crawford for the first time since last summer. The meeting had been suddenly called, and the subject was a claim of the State of Virginia for *interest*, which she had paid upon

moneys borrowed during the late war, to pay for the defence of the State—militia services—for which the United States have already paid the claim of the State, but this was for interest on moneys borrowed by the State at the time. The question had been much discussed before I came in—Mr. Crawford earnestly in favor of making the allowance, Mr. Wirt warmly pressing for it, Mr. Calhoun very faintly opposing it, and Mr. Southard silent. The President read several letters from him, as Secretary of War, to the Governor of Virginia, in August and September of the year 1814, warning him to be ready to repel an attack of the enemy upon Norfolk or Richmond. This was the authority upon which the militia had been called out and the expenses incurred. I enquired for a law by which they were authorized, but was referred only to that of 10th April, 1812, which gave no such authority.

It was observed that the claim for payment of the militia had already been allowed and paid; but, I observed, the authority for the expenditure was questionable, as much upon a demand for interest as for principal. Every precedent and rule for the settlement of accounts at the War and Treasury Departments was against this allowance, and its admission would have absorbed about a million of public money at once, besides establishing a precedent which would swallow hundreds of millions in future. There were two cases of interest allowed upon payments of this description made by States. They were Pennsylvania and New Jersey; but in both it was in fulfilment of express previous engagements. I thought the general rule and established practice at the Treasury, of not allowing interest, wise and just, and if it should once be broken in upon in favor of a State I could discern no principle upon which it could be denied to individuals. The rule was just, because the demand for interest always rested upon grounds distinct from that of the debt upon which it was claimed. The right to interest was impaired by numberless contingencies which did not affect the principal. It was so considered by all nations. It had been so considered in our relations, both foreign and domestic, besides being the foundation of the established Treasury rule. And I instanced the withholding of interest during the period of the

Revolutionary War upon British debts recovered in the country after the war—a subject which had been long in controversy between the two nations, and was ultimately settled by a compromise. Also our own funding system, in which all the arrears of interest had been funded at an interest of three per cent., and now constituted the stock of that denomination, while all the capital of the debt had been funded at six per cent. interest, though upon one-third of it the payment of interest was deferred for ten years.

Crawford denied that the three per cent. stock had been constituted from arrears of interest. He had once at a former meeting made the same denial, and I had suffered it to pass without reply. I now merely read the fifth section of the Act of 4th August, 1790, making provision for the debt of the United States. I said if anything was to be done upon this claim of Virginia by the Executive, I thought it should only be to refer it to Congress, and that without any recommendation of it. I should prefer leaving it to the Representatives from Virginia to bring it into Congress themselves.

Crawford said if it was not allowed by the Executive he should also prefer leaving it to Congress themselves; for, if they should make the allowance, he was *afraid* they would extend it also to individuals—to which he was not disposed to assent.

Calhoun and Southard now spoke decidedly against the allowance, and it was concluded that the answer should be accordingly. It was remarked that Governor Barbour had already brought the subject before the Senate, where it had been rejected, or strongly discountenanced. Southard said this was an additional reason for the Executive to decline making the allowance; which Crawford admitted, saying he did not know it had been before the Senate.

In this discussion, the only ground alleged by Calhoun was the established rule, and the dissatisfaction which would be given by departing from it. Precedent and popularity—this is the bent of his mind. The primary principles involved in any public question are the last that occur to him. What *has been done*, and what *will be said*, are the Jachin and Boaz of

his argument. Crawford talks more, and often of moral obligation, but his ethics are neither sound nor deep. He applies his principles with obliquity, and in most cases, as in this, would have one rule for a State and another for individuals, upon claims in which the ingredient of moral obligation was precisely the same.

After the decision, Wirt said, joking, "Well, if it goes to Congress, Virginia may whistle for her interest."

"And why should not she," said I, "when you make Massachusetts whistle for her principal?"

"Because," said Wirt, "Massachusetts is the land of song."

As we came away, Calhoun and Southard told me that before I came in the discussion had been warm, and even angry. Southard said he had given offence to Crawford, and Calhoun said he had been afraid he should be outvoted; that there had been an argument of their strongest man, Chapman Johnson, read in favor of the claim, and Crawford very pertinacious for it.

3d. Mr. T. Cook was here about a negro woman, Jenny, belonging to Mrs. H., whom she wishes to sell, and the sale of whom to Mr. Edwards I interposed to prevent. She has several children, one an infant of about six months and another two years old. This last Mr. Edwards would not take, and they were about separating her from that and all her other children except the infant. The husband, Basil, was actually sold to Governor Edwards, and he took him with him. But Jenny was not unwilling to part with him. Mrs. H. was determined to sell them all, and, to save her from being separated from her children, I promised to make good what they should sell for less than two hundred dollars, the condition of sale being that they should not be sold out of the District. Mr. Cook, however, now informed me that this stipulation, though often made, is easily and frequently evaded.

At the office, Captain Randall came, and, the Appropriation bill having passed, was now furnished with his papers for his departure. He is to leave the city next Wednesday.

Mr. Addington came to enquire concerning a resolution of the House of Representatives, passed at the instance of Edward

Livingston, of Louisiana, and the object of which was to ascertain if any nation claimed certain rocks and islets in the Gulf of Mexico, near the coast of Florida. Addington said he had received a communication from the Governor of the Bahama Islands informing him that they were within his jurisdiction. Mr. Addington spoke also of the Act of the South Carolina Legislature concerning colored persons arriving in the State on board of ships, and said he had received a new express instruction from his Government to make a new complaint in the case of a British vessel from which three men had been taken, to the great injury of the captain. He asked what had been done in the case of which he had complained last summer.

I said that, having learnt immediately after receiving his letter that the man had been discharged, no further measures had been taken concerning it.

5th. Arthur Livermore came to speak of the appointment of District Judge in New Hampshire in the event of Mr. Sherburne's resignation, and W. Plumer followed soon after. Plumer had declined signing a written recommendation of Livermore, but spoke of him as well qualified for the office. Plumer named also Mr. Bell, the Senator, Levi Woodbury, the present Governor, and Jeremiah Mason, of Portsmouth, as persons who might be recommended, and all well worthy of the station.

He spoke, too, of the Presidential election: the present prospects in New York; the anxious efforts of Mr. Calhoun and his friends now to obtain the support of mine for his election to the Vice-Presidency; the solicitations of Rogers and Hamilton in his behalf, and Calhoun's unfitness for the place; the uncertainty whether Jackson and his friends wish that he may be supported for the Vice-Presidency or not, and the overture from Burton of the wish that my friends would support Nathaniel Macon for Vice-President.

I requested Plumer to converse with J. W. Taylor, and with Mr. Seymour, of Vermont, and consult them as to the expediency of ascertaining the dispositions of General Jackson's friends.

I had received a note from Mr. Silvestre Rebello, announcing

himself as Chargé d'Affaires from his Majesty the Emperor of Brazil, and asking an interview in that capacity, enclosing at the same time a letter to me from the Brazilian Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The Empire of Brazil has not yet been recognized, and the question is whether it shall now be recognized by the reception of Mr. Rebello. The President directed a Cabinet meeting to be called at one to-morrow.

I suggested also to the President the expediency of appointing Mr. Gallatin upon a special mission to Great Britain, to be joined in the negotiations now confided to Mr. Rush alone, and with a commission to take the place of Mr. Rush on his return home, which he has announced his intention of effecting next autumn.

The President said that he did not expect anything would be effected by the present negotiations of Mr. Rush upon any one point, not even upon the slave-trade; that his intention had been to leave the appointment of the successor of Mr. Rush in the English mission to his own successor.

I said that probably before Mr. Rush's return some decided opinion might be formed as to who would be the successor to the Presidency, and the appointment might be made with his concurrence; that my own wish would be in favor of Mr. Gallatin, and partly to relieve him from an awkward situation in which he had been placed, doubtless with his own consent, but with no present appearance of success, by his caucus nomination for the Vice-Presidency. I considered Mr. Gallatin, by his talents and services, peculiarly fitted for, and entitled to, the mission to Great Britain, and I should be sorry to see him entirely discarded from the service of this country.

The President said he was confident no person other than a native of the United States would be chosen Vice-President, nor would the people of this Union ever forget Mr. Gallatin's having quitted the Treasury Department at its utmost need, in 1813. But he concurred entirely with me, that Mr. Gallatin was eminently fitted for the mission to Great Britain, and wished with me that he might receive no mark of disrespect from the nation. Of the proposal to appoint him the successor to Mr. Rush he would consider further.

6th. At one, I attended the Cabinet meeting. Calhoun, Southard, and Wirt were present. The question was presented by the President whether Mr. Silvestre Rebello should be received as Chargé d'Affaires from his Majesty the Emperor of Brazil, and the independence of that country be thereby acknowledged.

Mr. Wirt questioned the expediency of this measure, principally on the ground that the revolutionary Government established there was monarchical and not republican.

Mr. Calhoun was warmly in favor of the recognition, distinguishing between the question of independence and that of internal government.

Mr. Wirt thought that an immediate recognition of the Brazilian Empire would be represented as favoring the views of the Holy Alliance and a partiality for monarchies, and alluded to General Jackson's refusal of the mission to Mexico when Yturbide was Emperor, and to the publication of his letter, assigning as his reason for the refusal that he would give no countenance to that usurpation.

Mr. Calhoun said that the established policy of this country in relation to South America had been to look only to the question of independence, and invariably to recognize the Governments "de facto"; that we had thus recognized the Imperial Government of Yturbide, and received a Minister from him; that to decline the recognition of the Empire of Brazil because it was monarchical, would be a departure from the policy hitherto observed, and would introduce a new principle of interference in the internal government of foreign nations; that the acknowledgment of the independence of Brazil was highly important, our trade thither being already very considerable, and promising to be more valuable than with all the rest of South America.

The President observed that the recognition of Brazil as an empire would lessen the offensiveness to the Holy Alliance of the acknowledgments, as it would show that we did not make a difference with regard to the forms of government.

I said there were reasons for the recognition of Brazil yet stronger than those which had operated in the case of Spanish

America, inasmuch as the King of Portugal himself, while he resided in Brazil, had proclaimed it an independent kingdom and abolished the colonial system of government altogether. But of the revolutionary changes since the return of the old King to Portugal, we had not been authentically notified. I proposed, therefore, that I should be authorized to see Mr. Rebello, and call upon him for a statement of facts, authenticated by documents, showing the independent condition of Brazil "de facto," and that the recognition should be founded thereon; which was accordingly determined.

The President then said he had been strongly urged to send a message to Congress referring to them the claim of Virginia for the payment of interest, which had been declined as an allowance by Executive authority, and he read the draft which he had prepared of such a message. Some slight alteration of one of the paragraphs was proposed, but no objection was made to the sending of the message itself.

Mr. Rebello came (to Mrs. Adams's party) with Colonel Torrens, and I desired him to call at two to-morrow at the office of the Department of State. Mr. R. King, Senator from New York, was here; left with me a letter from H. Wheaton, of Albany, of 2d April, since his return. From that and other letters, nothing decisive can be collected of the dispositions of the New York Legislature. Yates, the present Governor, was dropped in the caucus nomination for Governor—sixty votes for Young, forty-five for Yates; one hundred and six members present, fifty-four absent. Seventy-five for Root as Lieutenant-Governor. No confirmation of the Congressional caucus nomination at this city. But this, Root writes, *may* come hereafter. It is certain, however, that there will be no manifestation of opinion *against* the Congressional caucus.

G. Hay told me there had been sharp words in the Tariff debate this day in the House, between Hamilton, of South Carolina, and Martindale, of New York, and assured me that he himself never in his life lost his temper in a public debate, and that his coolness had often given him an advantage over Chapman Johnson.

I asked Crowninshield if Southard had said anything hostile

to me in his presence last Saturday. He said, no; he might have said something by way of joke, but was as friendly to me as possible. Southard himself told me that great pains had been taken to exasperate Crawford against him, and that Mrs. Miller had charged him with unfair and ungenerous conduct to Crawford in his illness, altogether without cause. Southard spoke also of a private note which he had written to James Lloyd, of the Senate, on the Navy Appropriation bill, which had by mistake been given over to McLane, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means of the House; who had asked Lloyd whether he might read it in the House. Lloyd answered, no; but demanded the note back, and returned it to Southard. He said they were for making a dead set at him, but would get nothing by it.

7th. At two, Mr. Silvestre Rebello came to the office, and delivered to me the letter from Mr. Carvalho e Mello, Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Emperor of Brazil, announcing him in the character of Brazilian Chargé d'Affaires.

I told him that in our recognition of the Spanish South American nations we had proceeded upon authenticated and official documents announcing the changes in their Governments; but none such had been received from the Brazilian Government. I invited him, therefore, to send me a written statement of the facts, accompanied by document vouchers, with translations, as it was probable they would be communicated to Congress and to the public.

He said he would prepare and send me such an exposition of facts, and accompanied by the documents; that the King of Portugal himself had in the year 1817 (it was in 1815) proclaimed Brazil an independent kingdom, and as such it had been recognized by the European powers; that after his return to Portugal the Brazilian nation had exercised its own right and had constituted itself an empire. This was a mere word. It implied an extensive territory, which could not be applicable to Portugal, but was eminently so to Brazil. Its meaning, however, was only that Brazil was an independent nation, and its Government was in principle republican—the Emperor himself being more inclined to republicanism than the people

of the country; that the documents were all public, and if the Government of the United States had not received them it was the fault of their Agent in omitting to forward them.

I said we were possessed of the documents, but it was necessary that we should have them officially authenticated.

He said he would send translations, but enquired if it was not matter of right for him to make his communications in his own language. I answered, certainly; but that we had no person here sufficiently versed in the Portuguese language to make the translations so correctly as I should wish to have them of these papers. And I remarked that all the Portuguese public Agents in this country hitherto had written in English or in French.

He said he would make me the communication as soon as possible, and took leave.

8th. Colonel Richard M. Johnson came, and recommended Mr. Overton as District Attorney in Pensacola in the place of F. W. Steele, if he should be removed; also C. Savage for the Consulate in Guatemala, which he solicits. The Colonel spoke also of the Presidential election, and of his recent conversation with Governor Barbour, of Virginia, Mr. Van Buren, of New York, and Jesse B. Thomas, of Illinois. Thomas is yet ardent and sanguine as at any former period. Van Buren stills puts on a good face, and professes to expect final success. Barbour seems ready to give up the cause. The nomination of Young as the candidate for Governor in preference to Yates, the present incumbent, is considered too much as a defeat of Van Buren's party and an indication of the decay of his influence. Johnson said he had seen a letter from a friend of Clay's stating that they would agree upon an electoral ticket of eighteen for Clay and eighteen for me, but all to vote for one or the other, according to the prospects of success.

9th. Mr. Knowles, of Charlestown, was here this morning. Going to-morrow morning upon his return home. Very anxious upon the Presidential election; and particularly to determine whether it will be expedient for my friends to support General Jackson for the Vice-Presidency. I told him I thought it advisable that they should, until something from General

Jackson or his friends should distinctly signify an unwillingness that he should be voted for in that capacity. And in that case I should personally be satisfied if they would support Nathaniel Macon, of North Carolina.

Evening at the theatre; "Wives as They Were, and Maids as They Are," with the farce of "Turn Out" substituted for another. Performance better than usual. Walking home, Mr. Southard spoke of W. Lowrie's publication in the newspapers, and of Mr. Crawford's having this day withdrawn the Treasury patronage from the Washington City Gazette, in consequence of a violent personal attack upon the President in that paper of last Tuesday.

10th. Mr. McLean, the Postmaster-General, called this morning at my house. I gave him a letter from Mr. Pitman, the United States District Attorney at Providence, Rhode Island, recommending the appointment of a person as Postmaster there, requesting him to return the letter to me.

He spoke of the equivocal appearances in New York respecting the Presidential election, and said that an explicit manifestation of opinion in New York would be equally decisive in Ohio and Indiana. This, however, is not now to be expected.

I called at the President's with the note received from Addington, complaining of the South Carolina law, which I left with him. He said he would nominate Savage as Consul at any port in Guatemala.

I told him the substance of the conversation I had had with Mr. Rebello, and observed that in the event of his recognition and reception it would be necessary to nominate Mr. Raguet, or some other person, as Chargé d'Affaires at Rio de Janeiro, as the informal agency of Mr. Raguet would become afterwards questionable in a constitutional point of view.

The President thought the appointment of a Chargé d'Affaires to Brazil might still be postponed, and asked if the nomination of Raguet would be supported by the Senators from Pennsylvania. I proposed to enquire of them, and said I had no reason to doubt of it—unless perhaps Mr. Lowrie should object to Raguet for some taint of federalism.

This led the President to speak of Lowrie's late publication

in the American Sentinel of Philadelphia, recently republished in the National Intelligencer. On the 15th of March Lowrie wrote a second letter to the President, stating explicitly that he (P. U. S.) had read to him and Findley a letter from General Jackson to him, recommending to him to form his Cabinet of distinguished individuals of both the great political parties; then adverting to the recent denials in the newspapers, which he says have given rise to imputations upon his character, and to reproachful letters from persons whose confidence he had heretofore enjoyed. Lowrie, therefore, demands of the President that he would publish Jackson's letter to him.

Some days after this, A. Stevenson called upon the President at Lowrie's request, and asked if he had received Lowrie's letter of 15th March, and if an answer to it might be expected.

The President told Stevenson that he had received that and a preceding letter from Lowrie; that the first of them was in an adversary attitude, announcing himself to be in possession of a letter written by him (the President), and that he had not determined what to do with it. He had received this letter under a blank cover from Richmond, but it had come from a person who had no right to it, and there was a breach of trust or dishonesty somewhere in the process of its coming to his possession. The second letter did not alter the attitude; and while that continued, Mr. Lowrie must take his own course.

After this, Stevenson called again upon the President, and declared on Lowrie's part that he had not, in writing the first letter, the most distant intention of menacing or assuming a hostile position, and requesting to withdraw that letter; but the President declined returning it. Lowrie then, on the 1st of this month, wrote to the editors of the Sentinel at Philadelphia requesting them to publish his letter to the President of 15th March, preceded by an article from the Democratic Press of 20th January, introducing Kremer's letter of 17th January, and by an article from the Franklin Gazette of 30th January, declaring an explicit denial of Mr. Findley that the President had ever read to him such a letter from General Jackson. In his letter to the editors of the Sentinel, Lowrie says he hopes no after-event will compel him to publish the incontrovertible

evidence that he possesses; meaning, doubtless, thereby his surreptitious prize, the President's answer to Jackson.

The President said that he supposed General Jackson would some day publish his letter, but would choose his own time for it. Throughout the whole transaction, the President said, he saw nothing to regret, excepting the misplaced confidence that he had bestowed by alluding to the contents of Jackson's letter to persons who had proved unworthy of the trust. But, he said, he was confident he had not *read* any letter of Jackson's to Lowrie and Findley. And Findley's recollection concurred with his. Findley himself had declared to him that he (Mr. Monroe) had never read to him and Lowrie any letter from Jackson whatsoever.

The President then adverted to another subject, of which he had never before spoken to me, but which for years has given him trouble. On the 3d of March, 1817, there was appropriated twenty thousand dollars, and on the 20th of April, 1818, thirty thousand dollars, for furnishing the President's house, to be expended under his direction. He charged Colonel Lane, Commissioner of the Public Buildings, chiefly with it. Lane died about a year and a half ago, a defaulter for several thousand dollars, and rumors have since been in obscure circulation that the President himself had used large sums of the money and thereby occasioned the defalcation. At the last session of Congress, John Cocke, member of the House from Tennessee, instituted in the House an enquiry concerning the state of Lane's accounts after his decease, and, finding upon examination that the President had received a part of the money, sent him a message to enquire if he would appear before the Committee, to answer interrogatories or give explanations concerning these expenditures.

He desired the person who brought him the message to tell Cocke that he was a scoundrel, and that that was the only answer he would give him. Cocke had then intended to make a report, but the committee which had been raised at his instance would not agree to it. At the present session of Congress, Cocke had again raised a committee on the subject, and is pushing the investigation to a report.

In the mean time, charges have been raised against Cocke himself, of having embezzled moneys received by him as an agent for certain pensioners. He has been attacked about it in the Washington Republican, and the attack upon the President in last Tuesday's Gazette was by way of retaliation, and written by Colvin. It was for this paper that Mr. Crawford withdrew from the Gazette the patronage of the Treasury Department, upon the admonition, as Wirt told Southard, of Mr. Catlet, of Alexandria, a warm friend both of the President and of Mr. Crawford.

The President now read me the draft of a message prepared to send in to Congress, requesting the appointment of a committee to investigate his accounts and his management of public moneys entrusted to him during the whole time that he has been in the public service, since his first mission to France in 1794. And with this he put into my hands two memoirs, one upon his claims for further allowances upon his missions to Europe, and the other upon his transactions with Colonel Lane respecting the two appropriations for furnishing the President's house. He spoke of his forbearance to dismiss Colvin from the Department of State; of Colvin's treachery to Robert Smith, who had placed him in the Department; said Colvin had afterwards offered to write for him in the newspapers, which he had declined. He had always kept him employed on service not confidential. When Mr. Madison's Administration drew to a close, and he (Mr. Monroe) was before the nation as a candidate for the Presidency, Colvin wrote in the newspapers against him, and after the election in his favor.

I told the President that Colvin had treated me much in the same manner—at first with flattery that I had nauseated, then by neglect of duty and grovelling vices till I had been compelled to dismiss him from office, and by lampooning me from that day to this in the City Gazette. He had rung all the possible changes of falsehood against me, from the basest lie to the most insidious misrepresentation. But he could allege at least against me that I had taken from him his place, which was his bread. For his baseness to Mr. Monroe he had no provocation.

11th. I read this day the President's memoir upon the transactions relating to the appropriations for furnishing the President's house. It enters into details of a very humiliating character, and which ought never to have been, or to be, required of him. The principal difficulty appears to have sprung from his having used his own furniture until that provided for by the appropriations could be procured, and having received for it six thousand dollars, to be repaid upon the redelivery of his furniture to him. This produced an intermingling of Lane's public and private accounts with him, which, by Lane's sickness and death, remained unsettled at his decease. There arises from all this an exposure of domestic and household concerns almost as incongruous to the station of a President of the United States as it would be to a blooming virgin to exhibit herself naked before a multitude. The malignity of political opposition has no feeling of delicacy. There appears to be nothing really censurable in all these transactions, but Lane was an unfortunate selection of an agent, and his final insolvency has produced all these awkward consequences.

12th. John W. Taylor called on me this evening, and said Plumer had spoken to him of the expediency of applying to General Jackson, or some of his friends, to ascertain whether it would be agreeable to him to be supported for the Vice-Presidency by my friends; that he had casually put the question to Judge Isaacs, of Tennessee, who intimated that it would be pleasing to him, but said he would speak with Taylor of it again.

I said that since the meeting in New York the prospect of a powerful effort in that State to support Jackson for the Presidency was so great that I thought it best to let the thing take its own course, and make no application to him or his friends with reference to the Vice-Presidency.

Taylor said his belief was that Tallmadge was endeavoring to get up a party for Jackson, and that the project of the Convention at Utica was formed with that intention; though Marvin and Hayden and Martindale, he said, were of a different opinion.

I said I had never expected anything from the project of a

Convention, and that if the popular voice should not be really in Jackson's favor it would easily be seen by calling meetings to express different opinions.

Taylor thinks that the assumption by the Albany caucus of Young for their candidate as Governor was the result of a bargain, and that its object was to prevent the opposite party from setting up Young in opposition to Yates. And he thought it probable that all the mining and countermining might ultimately compel my friends to fall in and support Young and Crawford, to keep out Jackson.

The result of all is that New York has been, and will be, bargained away. Taylor said that since he had spoken to me at the House he had seen General Brown, who had told him that Mr. Calhoun's friends wished him to be in the next Administration in a more active situation than that of Vice-President; but he himself inclined to the Vice-Presidency, probably for the sake of a certainty of not being entirely thrown out of place. And he asked Taylor what he thought would be my views in this respect. Taylor said he did not know, but had no reason to suppose that I would remove Calhoun from his present office. Dix afterwards hinted to Taylor that Calhoun's friends wished him to be Secretary of the Treasury, a place which it was supposed might be vacant.

I told Taylor the time had certainly not yet come, if it ever should, for me to think of these arrangements. I had no hesitation in saying that I should have no disposition to *remove* Mr. Calhoun, nor had I any reason for concluding that in the event of my election the Department of the Treasury would be vacant. I suppose that the principal object of General Brown's soundings was to ascertain whether I would dismiss Crawford and appoint Calhoun in his place. On parting from me, Taylor concluded to take no further step at present, but to wait for the progress of events. He says that General Jackson admits that he wrote to the President a letter somewhat resembling that which Lowrie asserts that the President read to him and Findley, but that too much consequence has been attached to it. And Lowrie says he feels quite easy since his publication.

13th. Mr. Mosher came and spoke to me of his, or rather, I

suspect, Mr. George Hay's, project of setting up a new paper. I told him of the difficulties which it would have to encounter, and that its success must entirely depend upon its supplanting the National Intelligencer, which would be no easy thing. The editors of that print were, indeed, giving great dissatisfaction, probably to a majority of Congress, by the disingenuous course they were pursuing in regard to the Presidential election. But they still kept within bounds reconcilable to any of the candidates who might succeed, other than their own; and whenever the election of printers to Congress should come on, the destruction of their establishment by the British in 1814 would be remembered in their favor. And, after all, the question will remain, whether Congress can expect to gain anything by a change. An establishment which should report the debates in Congress even as well as they do could not easily be formed. I said the Washington Republican was a partisan paper, which had never paid its expenses, and which could not, in my opinion, survive the present year, having the irredeemable defect of being edited by an Englishman not yet naturalized. Mosher said Mr. Calhoun was of the same opinion.

14th. W. Plumer was here, and spoke of his conversations with J. W. Taylor upon the expediency of ascertaining the views of General Jackson with regard to the Vice-Presidency. All the General's friends to whom it had been mentioned approved and desired that my friends should support him for that office. But Taylor had concluded not to say anything of it to him. I concurred in this, and observed that, as the support by my friends of General Jackson would rest upon its only proper ground, the fitness of the thing, I should prefer it infinitely to any bargaining for support to myself.

15th. Fuller was here, to converse upon the politics of the day. He spoke of information from various quarters that a combined and systematic effort was making in Massachusetts to secure the federalists in support of Mr. Crawford. And this object is to be brought to bear upon the elections for the House of Representatives in the present year. Fuller spoke also of the Tariff bill, which passed yesterday to the third reading, by a vote of one hundred and five to one hundred and

two, in the House of Representatives. Mr. Burton called while Fuller was with me, but, hearing I was engaged, went away, saying he would come at another time.

17th. At the office, Albert H. Tracy came, and had a conversation with me of nearly two hours, chiefly on the prospects of the Presidential election. He said there was a great and powerful party getting up for General Jackson as President in New York; that it could not possibly succeed, but that its probable effect would be to secure the electoral vote of the State to Mr. Crawford. He said that the Legislature, having retained the choice of the electoral ticket to themselves, and thereby incurred some unpopularity, would be careful to choose a ticket the vote of which would be decisive of the election, and thereby endeavor to justify themselves before the people. Tracy has more than once expressed to me the opinion that among the people as well as in the Legislature of New York the political impulse to action was founded upon the doctrine of equivalents. John W. Taylor, member from New York, called in the evening. He said that J. A. Dix had been with him this morning and assured him that the opinion in circulation, that Mr. Calhoun was desirous of supporting General Jackson for the Presidency, was unfounded; that Mr. Calhoun's personal dispositions were in favor of me, but that he did not see how he could use any influence in my favor. Taylor said he had also had a recent conversation with General Brown, who was decidedly and anxiously now friendly to me, and convinced that the movement in favor of Jackson will, if persisted in, give the vote of the State ultimately to Mr. Crawford. He spoke also of a Mr. Moore, who has been several weeks here, and for some time was very actively canvassing for General Jackson and endeavoring to spread the opinion that the vote of New York would be for him. But lately he has changed his views, and is now, as he told Taylor, convinced that unless I am supported the vote of New York must go to Crawford. Taylor said Moore's real object was the promotion of De Witt Clinton, and it was to his interest that all Moore's present movements were directed; that he (Taylor) had told him it was in vain to set up General Jackson in opposition to

Crawford in New York; that he could not succeed, and if Mr. Clinton and his friends should support him, they could only aggravate their own discomfiture and achieve the triumph of Crawford and Van Buren; that General Jackson and his friends ought to know this, and should leave no doubt remaining whether he and they were willing that he should be supported as Vice-President by those who would vote for me as President; that Moore had since seen and conversed with Jackson, and Taylor himself had conversed with Mr. Eaton, the other Senator from Tennessee, and the confidential friend of Jackson; that the General had declared he had no wish to withdraw from me the support of New York, and Eaton had said the General's friends would be gratified if mine should support him for the Vice-Presidency. Moore told Taylor also that he meant to call upon and converse with me. Taylor said Moore's object would be to ascertain my sentiments with regard to Clinton; that Tallmadge was endeavoring to get up the party for General Jackson under the self-delusion that he himself would be nominated at the Convention, to be supported for Governor in opposition to Young.

I told Taylor that I should speak to him in perfect confidence, and as I should to my own heart; but I should certainly not cast away all reserve in communicating with Mr. Moore. I mentioned to him the project disclosed to me by a Virginian early in December, of a coalition between Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Clinton, and me, and his intention to see Mr. Clinton and propose it to him on the idea of my being chosen President, with Clinton Secretary of State, and Calhoun Secretary of the Treasury. I mentioned my having explicitly forbidden to let Mr. Clinton know, if he should see him, that I had any knowledge of this intention, or to give him the most distant idea of countenance to it from me; that I was not disposed to sell the skin before the animal was taken, and, while my own election was a bare possibility, I should not even deliberate in my own mind, much less could I announce to others, how my Cabinet might be composed if I should be chosen. I could say without hesitation to Mr. Moore that I felt no personal hostility to Mr. Clinton. I had a high opinion of his talents and of his capacity

for serving the public in important trusts. It was said that the movement now making in New York for General Jackson was with the purpose and expectation of his appointing Mr. Clinton; and in the event of General Jackson's election he could make no disposition of the office which would be more satisfactory to me. For myself, I would add as evidence of my sentiments concerning Mr. Clinton, that I had more than once named him to the President for nomination to important missions abroad. There was no mission for which I did not consider him well qualified, and, independent of the deference which, with regard to all important offices, it was indispensable to show for prevailing public sentiment, there was not a person in the Union whose aid in the office that I now hold would be more acceptable to me than that of Mr. Clinton. But if I should be elected, the support of the State of New York to my Administration would be so vitally necessary to me that my course must necessarily be shaped to that consideration, as combined with the paramount interest, the good of the whole. Mr. Clinton's political fortunes and power were so changeful that he might one day be as sure to lose for an Administration of which he should be a member the support of New York, as the preceding or following day he might obtain it.

Taylor fully concurred in all these sentiments, and said that an answer in terms altogether general to Mr. Moore would be most advisable, and that on his return home he could himself see and converse either with Mr. Clinton or with Mr. Colden, his confidential friend, at New York; to which I assented. Taylor still believes that the Convention project is Tallmadge's, and that it cannot succeed.

18th. Between the services, Colonel Dwight, a member of the House from Massachusetts, called on me, and at my invitation came and dined with us. He came to say that he had seen letters from North Carolina speaking of certain persons there who were disposed to support me at the ensuing election, but that prejudices were entertained there against me on account of the part I had taken in the case of John Smith, of Ohio, the whole history of which I related to him, adding that the prejudices to which he referred were such as it would cer-

tainly not be in my power to remove. They must have been taken up at the time of those events, now sixteen years gone by. They were at that time shared by great numbers of persons, and, in truth, by almost the whole federal party. The Colonel spoke to me of H. Storrs, one of the members from the State of New York, a fellow-lodger with him, and who is now unwell. Storrs has been heretofore very unfriendly to me, but Dwight says he is now quite otherwise. I asked him how Storrs would be to-morrow. Yet he is one of the ablest men in the House, and a man of pleasant manners and conversation.

19th. Mr. Addington, the British Chargé d'Affaires, called, and left with me an extract from a letter from General Grant, Governor of the Bahama Islands, claiming the Keys on the Salt Key Bank as a portion of his Government. Addington spoke also of the Tariff bill's having passed the House of Representatives without the desired provision for equalizing the duties upon rolled and hammered iron.

I told him Mr. Lloyd, of Massachusetts, had promised to take up the subject in the Senate, but I could not say how it would finally be decided.

He mentioned again the South Carolina law, the papers concerning which are before the President, and the transactions relating to the admission of Consuls in the West India Colonies.

I read to him the correspondence between Mr. Rush and Mr. George Canning on that subject, and told him we had been a little surprised at the changes of the determination of his Government concerning it; that we should, however, on our part, do nothing with precipitation.

We largely discussed also the new transient tax imposed by the Legislature of the island of Jamaica, which, he contended, did not necessarily import discriminating charges against our traders to the island, but admitted that it would have against them all the effects of discrimination.

The Presidential campaign is verging to violence. Walter Lowrie, a Senator from Pennsylvania, publishes in the National Intelligencer this morning a reply to a piece signed "P." in the

same journal of last Thursday, and which he now says was written by George Hay. Lowrie answers several questions put him in that publication, and now publishes his own letter to the President of 21st February, and the anonymous letter to him from Richmond, which covered the President's answer to General Jackson's letter. The whole of this transaction belongs to the small trade of electioneering, and displays more of the narrow prejudices of political rancor than of anything else. It proves to me the great impropriety of private interviews between members of Congress and the President in relations to nominations for office; the tendency to misrepresentation in all statements infected with the venom of party; the extreme difficulty, even for men in the highest stations, to preserve entire propriety of conduct in delicate situations; and the malignant aspect which a want of candor and explicitness gives to incidents trivial or insignificant of themselves.

[But a much graver affair has this day broken out afresh in the House of Representatives. An address to the House was read from N. Edwards, lately a Senator from Illinois, now appointed Minister to Mexico, defensive of himself against a charge contained in a report to the House, made by Mr. Crawford since Edwards left this place, that Edwards had made false statements against Crawford before a committee of the House at the last session. Edwards retaliates by six direct allegations of official misconduct in Crawford, closing with a broad insinuation against him of perjury.

This paper came upon the House by surprise, and they showed titubation as to what they should do with it. They finally referred it to a select committee, with power to send for persons and papers. Edwards avows himself the author of the A. B. papers of last winter, and challenges a charge against himself, of having falsely inculpated Mr. Crawford, admitting that, if he has, it is a misdemeanor which renders him unworthy of the office that he holds. In this affair Edwards is under great disadvantages, by his absence; by the want of any person here daring enough to sustain his cause against the browbeating temper of Crawford's partisans, and by the dastardly spirit of the rest. Crawford will be sustained against demonstration

itself. But they will only substitute invective against Edwards for impeachment.

20th. I called at the President's, and found him much concerned at this memorial of N. Edwards against Mr. Crawford. He was extremely dissatisfied with Edwards, and appeared disposed to suspend his departure for Mexico. While I was with him, Mr. Calhoun came in, and Mr. Southard was sent for.

After some conversation, the opinion was unanimous that the President should wait until it should be seen what will be done by the Committee of Investigation, which consists of Floyd, Livingston, Webster, Randolph, Taylor, McArthur, and Owen of Alabama. The composition of the committee, and the temper of the Chairman, are a clear indication of the report to be expected from it. The prepossession against Edwards in this case appears to be universal.

I said my opinion was that the first measure of the committee ought to be to send for Edwards, and it is certain that no thorough investigation can be made unless he should be here; but, as the subject is before the House in the aspect of impeachment, either against Crawford or Edwards, that the Executive ought not in any respect to interfere until called upon by some incident in the regular discharge of his duties. And so it was concluded.

I said I thought it impossible that the House should discharge its duty to the nation without coming to some expression of strong censure upon one or the other of the parties. Calhoun said it was politically a question of life and death to them both. I observed that I should, however, not be surprised if the House should endeavor to throw it off without coming to any decision upon it.

The President directed that the opinion of the Attorney-General should be taken upon the constitutionality of the South Carolina Statute.

I had some conversation with J. W. Taylor, who is a member of the committee upon N. Edwards's memorial. I told him I thought it indispensable that Edwards should be summoned to attend the committee; but he doubted whether there would be time to send for him without protracting the session of Con-

gress into the summer. Mr. Crawford's friends appear to be anxious that Edwards should be sent for; but they are equally anxious for a speedy decision. A postponement to the next session would be unfavorable to Mr. Crawford's Presidential prospects, and to give the committee power to sit during the recess would establish a dangerous precedent. Taylor spoke of applying to be excused from being of the committee. It will be a troublesome and perilous service.

21st. Mr. Rufus King, Senator from New York, called for conversation, and sat with me about an hour. He concurred with me in opinion that the committee of the House of Representatives on the memorial of Ninian Edwards ought to send for him immediately, and that Edwards ought instantly to attend, and, if necessary, to resign his office, in order to remain here and await the issue of the investigation instituted by the House of Representatives; that this is indispensable to Edwards himself, as he will otherwise be utterly ruined, and certainly removed from the office that he now holds. Upon the subject of the controversy relating to General Jackson's letter to the President, King thinks that Lowrie has involved himself in embarrassment inextricable, and says he will be stimulated on till he publishes the President's letters in his hands, and then General Jackson will publish the whole correspondence. As to the State of New York, Mr. King thinks her final course upon the Presidential election as uncertain as ever. He thinks little of the political stability of Tallmadge, and that De Witt Clinton will probably be run for Governor of New York. Mr. King spoke of Webster's deportment to him during the present session as shy and unsocial.

22d. Mr. Crowninshield and Mr. Moore called on me this morning, and Moore asked me to name a time when I would see him alone. I named seven o'clock this evening. I received a note from the President, with one to me, Mr. Calhoun, and Mr. Southard. The joint note intimated a determination to send a special messenger this day to Mr. Edwards, ordering him to repair to this city to attend the enquiry by the House of Representatives, which he has invited. And it proposed for consultation whether he should not send a special message

to the House of Representatives announcing the fact of the order sent to Mr. Edwards, and also give notice of it to Mr. Crawford. The separate note to me recommended to me to send off the order to Mr. Edwards *immediately*, and required me to attend, with Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Southard, at his house at ten this morning. Mr. Wirt is at Baltimore. Perceiving by these notes that some external influence had been operating on the mind of the President since the deliberate decision of the day before yesterday, and thinking the course now proposed by him ill advised, I went to his house before ten. He had his message all ready to sign announcing that he had ordered N. Edwards to come here and attend the orders of *the House*.

I told him there were two objections to this: one, a question of his authority to give such an order to Edwards; the other, that it was a direct interference with the constitutional powers and proceedings of the House.

At first he seemed inflexibly determined, and, although he said he was sure my advice proceeded from the purest motives, he insisted that he must abide by the conclusions of his own judgment; to which I assented. He was highly exasperated by the course Edwards has taken in this affair, as implicating *him* in the suspicion of being leagued with him against Mr. Crawford as a candidate for the Presidency. He was exceedingly galled by the gross imputations of this kind thrown out by Floyd and Forsyth, in the debates, against him, and seemed to think that by sending this order to Edwards, and a message to the House announcing it, before he received any information from the House that they had the subject before them, he should put it out of the power of those worthies to repeat any such charges.

I observed that such an order from him to Mr. Edwards, sent by express, would import expense both in the sending, and to Mr. Edwards if he obeyed the command, which he would charge to the public. How was this to be paid? He said he would pay it himself.

Southard now came in, and, upon discussion, concurred entirely with me against the message, but suggested that an order might immediately be dispatched to Edwards not to

proceed on his mission, but to await the orders of the committee or the House. I added that it could not fail but in the course of the day the President would receive from the House information that they had ordered the attendance of Mr. Edwards, and in the answer to the communication the House might be informed of this previous Executive order.

The President assented to the immediate dispatching of the order, and I went to the office of the Department, wrote the order to Edwards, and took it back to the President for his approbation. As I was returning, I met Mr. Southard, who said the President was still determined to send a message to the House, and read me an amendment which he had drawn to the one proposed by the President, to which he asked me if I could not assent. I said I could not change my opinion, but I would acquiesce in the President's decision.

We returned to the President's together. He approved of the order to Mr. Edwards as I had drafted it. As to the message, I told the President that his earnestness for sending it being upon considerations personal to himself, it was with extreme reluctance that I advised him against it. All the proceedings in this case were novel, and they led to the development for the first time of many constitutional principles. Every step taken by the Executive would be a precedent for futurity; and I was therefore, above all, anxious that nothing should be done with precipitation. If he persisted in sending the message, as modified by the proposed alteration of Mr. Southard, I should say no more against it; but if Mr. Edwards should come here and arrive after the close of the session of Congress, what would he do with him?

The President said he would institute an enquiry into the whole affair.

I asked him where he would find throughout the Union men competent to such an enquiry, willing to undertake and perform it, and impartial between the parties?

This he did not answer. He postponed the determination upon the sending the message. I went back to my office to dispatch the order, and Mr. Southard went over to Georgetown to consult Mr. Calhoun, who was detained at home by his wife's

confinement. I sent two copies of the letter to Mr. Edwards to the Postmaster-General, by Mr. Thruston, requesting him to forward one of them to Edwardsville, and the other in such direction as that it might reach him as soon as possible.

In about an hour Southard returned from Calhoun's: while he was there with Calhoun, Mrs. Calhoun had a daughter born. Calhoun agreed entirely in opinion with Southard and me. Mr. George Hay soon came in, and brought a communication, from the House of Representatives to the President, of the minutes of the proceedings of the committee, among which is a vote ordering the attendance of Mr. Edwards before them. I returned again, and Mr. Southard also, to the President's. Mr. Edwards's memorial, as presented to the House, with the accompanying documents, was there; the Clerk of the House having brought them, to be taken back to-morrow morning, and printed, for which there is an order of the House. We read the memorial through, and the documents specially referred to by numbers. It was impossible for me, after reading them, not to reflect on the bias which the bullying temper and management of Crawford's partisans, unresisted by the rest of the House, have already given to this affair. The artifice of representing Edwards as having fled from his own accusation, has been used to divert the public attention from the merits of his allegations, as yet with entire success. A prodigious stir is made about catching him and bringing him here and preventing his escape; all which is to excite odium against him as an accuser, and to prepare for a whitewashing of Crawford. The truth is, that for supporting all the allegations of Edwards in his memorial his presence is in no wise necessary. He refers for proofs to public documents, which sustain him to the utmost extent; and nothing is necessary to establish them but to recur to the documents themselves. The blindness of the House to this affords no favorable augury to the justice or impartiality of the final decision.

It was past five when we finished the reading of the memorial, and the President directed us to attend again to-morrow at ten o'clock, when he intends to send a message to the House, in answer to theirs. I then returned again to my office, whence I

found all the Clerks were gone. I made a triplicate copy of the instruction to Mr. Edwards, and sent it under cover to Matthew St. Clair Clarke, the Clerk of the House of Representatives, requesting him to forward it by the messenger appointed to carry to Mr. Edwards the summons of the House. I received late this evening an answer from Clarke, saying that the order would be forwarded accordingly.

Mr. Moore came at seven o'clock this evening, according to his appointment. He announced himself as the most intimate friend but one to Mr. De Witt Clinton that he had in the world. He wished that my friends and Mr. Clinton's friends should harmonize; for the Clintonians would certainly turn the scale in New York; Mr. Clinton was against Mr. Crawford for President, and wished for an honest man in that office; that Mr. Clinton's friends, until very lately, had thought they could bring him forward with prospects of success, but they had now given it up as hopeless; that I was very strong in New York, and the attempt to set up General Jackson would only terminate in giving the vote to Crawford. His wish was that I should be chosen President, and General Jackson Vice-President. But he wished to know what were my sentiments with regard to Mr. Clinton.

I told him that whether the people of New York would vote for me or not I should leave entirely to themselves; that my feelings towards Mr. Clinton were altogether friendly. I had but a very slight personal acquaintance with him. There had been some things in his public career that I had not approved, and very probably some in mine that he had disapproved. But I entertained a high opinion of his talents, his services, and his public spirit, and was ashamed for my country at the recent act of the Legislature of New York in removing him from the office of Canal Commissioner. With this Mr. Moore professed to be entirely satisfied, and took leave.

T. Fuller, member from Massachusetts, called late in the evening. He asked if I had seen a piece in the New York Patriot signed "Mercury." I had. It asserts that while my friends are boasting of my purity and exemption from intrigue, and pretending that I rejected with indignation a proposal

from Mr. Crawford's friends to support me for the Vice-Presidency, I had been guilty of the same corruption; for that Fuller more than a year since had stated that I had authorized him to offer the Vice-Presidency to Mr. Clay. Fuller was excessively incensed at this paltry electioneering squib, and said he would compel the publisher of the Patriot to give up the author of it or would prosecute him for a libel. He said it was not only false, but there never had been anything which could give rise to it; that I had never said one word to him about supporting Clay for the Vice-Presidency—nor he to any human being.

I advised him to be cool; to cause to be published an explicit contradiction of the falsehood, and if, upon demand, the author would not avow himself, that would be enough; but that political prosecutions for anything published in the newspapers against a public man were, in this country, desperate remedies. The juries always favored the slanderer.

Fuller said this was a charge of *corruption*. That, I said, if he prosecuted, would be explained away. It would be said to have been used only with reference to my supposed fastidious purity. It would be said the fact charged, if true, was no evidence of corruption; that if I had authorized him to propose to Mr. Clay's friends to support him for the Vice-Presidency, there would have been no corruption in it, and that, therefore, there was no libel in the charge, although the matter stated as fact was not true. I further said that although I never had authorized any man to make such a proposal to Clay, yet friends of mine, and friends of Clay too, had often suggested it to me as desirable; nor is there anything in it unconstitutional, illegal, or dishonorable. The friends of every one of the candidates have sought to gain strength for their favorite by coalition with the friends of others; and to deny very indignantly an imputation of that which is not wrong in itself, is giving the adversary the advantage of fastening upon you a consciousness of wrong where there is none. Fuller seemed still to think he could get the author or publisher of the piece indicted; but I suppose he will not attempt it.

23d. I attended at the President's. Found Calhoun and

Southard there. The President had the draft of a short message prepared, announcing to the House of Representatives that he had received their communication of their proceedings on the memorial of N. Edwards, and had already in anticipation sent him an order not to proceed on his mission, but to await the orders of the House. Two or three slight alterations in the draft were made, and it was sent.

I then observed that it was my opinion Mr. Edwards ought, immediately upon receiving the summons of the House, to resign his office as Minister to Mexico, and attend solely to the affair before the House till that should be entirely cleared up. I wished him to have the opportunity of taking this step of his own accord; but if he should not, I wished the President deliberately to consider the propriety of informally giving to Mr. Edwards an intimation that the President expects he will resign; and if he does not, that the President would decide to remove him.

Mr. Calhoun warmly objected to this, and said that if Edwards should resign it would be universally considered that he was conscious of being guilty, and the decision of the House and of the nation would be against him. I answered that I believed the effect of his resignation would be directly the reverse; that the sacrifice of his own interest would be the strongest demonstration of his public spirit; that his cause would be decided by the House and by the nation upon its own merits, and not by his proceedings in relation to his mission abroad; that my principal reason for thinking he ought to resign was, because he could not discharge the duties of the office. He could not proceed upon the mission. He was arrested in consequence of his own acts. I meant not to pronounce censure upon those acts. On the contrary, so far as I knew the facts, I should have done precisely the same. But they had put it out of his power to proceed upon his mission, and therefore he ought to resign, to give the President the power of sending another person in his place.

Calhoun replied that the final decision upon the questions before the House would depend very much upon the incidents which would occur during the investigation; that by resigning,

Edwards would be universally thought to sink under the consciousness of his own wrong; that there was no particular occasion of urgency for the immediate departure of a Minister to Mexico; that a year had been suffered to elapse between the first appointment to that mission and the second; that at all events Mr. Edwards ought to be allowed the credit of making his own option to resign; that on his arriving it would immediately be known whether his detention here would be long or not. If it should continue over till the next session of Congress, it might then be proper for him to resign. If on arriving here he could not sustain his charges, he must resign or be removed. If he could, there was no reason why he should not afterwards proceed upon his mission.

The President said it was his opinion that Mr. Edwards ought, immediately on receiving the summons of the House, to resign; that he would thereby entirely disengage himself and the Executive from the imputation of a concert together; he would leave the Government free to make another appointment, which ought not long to be delayed, the dispatching of the mission having already been postponed more than comported with the public interest; that if he should resign, and upon his arrival here he should be detained upon the summons of the House only a short time, and sustain his own character, he might be reappointed. But it would be best to leave him to act upon his own sense of propriety; and, as he must be expected here sooner than a letter could now reach him and his answer be received, the determination whether he should be removed, or an intimation should be given him to resign, might be deferred. The President said that what passed in the Cabinet meetings on this subject was of the most confidential character; to which Mr. Calhoun confirmatively assented.

Southard said he had at first thought Edwards wrong for not having returned here to make his charges, but upon examination of the facts and further reflection he thought otherwise.

Calhoun said that the statement in Crawford's report was equivalent to a charge of perjury upon Edwards—as it certainly is; and, made as it was, no man having any regard for his character could have endured it without reply and resentment.

But Calhoun thought that if Edwards was bound to resign he ought to have done so immediately upon receiving notice of Crawford's report; but it does not appear whether Edwards received the notice before he left the city or after; his memorial is dated Wheeling, 6th April, and a passage in it seems to indicate information which he must have received after leaving the city.

I said Edwards was under orders to proceed to Mexico. With his view of things, he might suspect that this imputation upon him was an artifice for the purpose of compelling him to resign. He was not certain that the House would act upon his memorial at all. The first effort of Floyd was to have it laid on the table. Edwards's allegations against Crawford are all incidental to the defence of himself. He makes no formal charge against Crawford. Suppose the House should have decided that they would not act upon the memorial. Edwards would have lost his place, and his character would still have stood only upon the strength of his own allegations. I cannot, therefore, disapprove the course he then took, but still think he ought to resign upon receiving the summons of the House.

The meeting ended about one o'clock.

24th. W. Plumer, Jr., came to enquire if the commission of Pearson Cogswell, as Marshal of New Hampshire, had been forwarded to him. It has. Plumer spoke of this affair of Edwards and Crawford, and said the impression was that a majority of the committee were disposed to screen him from this exposure. Among the rest, that was understood to be the disposition of Webster. And, he said, Webster's conversation had much of that complexion. He had said yesterday that undoubtedly there had been deposits in the Western banks contrary to law, but Mr. Crawford stated that they had been made upon great advisement, by direction of the President, and that the omission to report them had been a mere inadvertency. Plumer said that McDuffie was very desirous of having the whole subject referred to the President; which is the very worst way in which it could be disposed of. McDuffie had been with the President on the morning of the day before yesterday, and had alarmed him into the sudden determination

of sending a message to the House, informing them that *he* had sent to order Edwards to come here to attend before the House. The President told me that he had been advised by McDuffie, and I told him that McDuffie's motive was to throw off the whole subject from the House upon the President.

Plumer said he thought there was not a man in the House who would have the spirit to probe the affair to the bottom and expose it in its true colors. The most conclusive evidence of this is, that the proof of all the allegations of Edwards has been before Congress more than a year, and no notice has been taken of it.

E. Wyer was here, and said that the denunciation of Mr. Crawford by Mr. Edwards was producing very great excitement, and the general sentiment was against Edwards. The secret of this lies not deep, nor in one of the fairest regions of human nature. Crawford has hold of many hopes and many fears, Edwards has no control over either. One has a tremendous influence over the *interests* of his judges, the other has none.

I took to the President's a new remonstrance against the South Carolina law prohibiting colored people from coming into the State. I urged upon the President the necessity of doing something in this case. I said I saw nothing that could be done except to lay the subject before Congress; but, as a last resource for avoiding that appeal, I left the letter with him, to see if Mr. Poinsett, or the South Carolina delegation, could devise any other way of getting rid of that law.

25th. After I returned home from church I began writing, but G. Sullivan soon came in, and sat with me till past midnight. He talked upon all the topics now in agitation before the public; said he had a long conversation with the President yesterday concerning the affair with Lowrie, and he thinks the position of the President a painful one. To extricate him from it, he thinks it necessary that General Jackson should publish his letter which led to the controversy; but Jackson, or rather Eaton, who rules him, and whom Sullivan considers as a cold-blooded, heartless man, will not consent to the publication of the letter, fearing that it will blow up Jackson in Pennsylvania; and Sullivan thinks it will.

I told him my opinion was, that when the whole affair should come out, rational men would judge that there had been on all sides, and by all the parties, much children's play; but that it would not change five votes in Pennsylvania.

Sullivan said that a few days since, he was walking with Forsyth, and said to him, "Well, I suppose when the whole of this Lowrie transaction shall be disclosed, Jackson will be entirely prostrated in Pennsylvania." "Oh, certainly!" said Forsyth; "and when we have done with him we shall take your friend Adams in hand." Upon which Sullivan replied that they would find nothing in me inconsistent with honor and integrity; to which, he says, Forsyth declared his unqualified assent. This, he remarked, was in Forsyth blowing hot and cold with the same breath. Sullivan is now very anxious that my friends in New England should support Calhoun for the Vice-Presidency, because, he says, Calhoun earnestly desires it, and because, since he (Sullivan) told him that all New England would vote for Jackson as Vice-President, Calhoun has become cold as an icicle to the Massachusetts claim. So that the claim is to purchase the Vice-Presidency. To all this I answered nothing. He said also that Forsyth had complained of the committee appointed upon Edwards's memorial, and particularly of Webster, who, he said, was unfriendly to Crawford. Forsyth knows better, but there is policy in giving this out. Of the claim Mr. Sullivan now spoke doubtingly, but he is to meet the committee on Tuesday. He hopes for a favorable report this session.

26th. I desired the President to make his decision whether to receive Mr. Rebello as Chargé d'Affaires from the Emperor of Brazil or not. The letter from C. Raguet, this day received, contains information making it questionable whether the Empire of Brazil ought as yet to be recognized as a Government "de facto."

The President said he would read and send me back Raguet's letter, and directed me to send it, and the other papers, round to the members of the Administration previous to a meeting for consideration of the question.

I spoke also of the permissions to General Dearborn and to R. Rush to come home. The President said he wished Mr.

Rush would remain in England till the close of the present Administration, for that he felt great delicacy about proposing to Mr. Gallatin to go to England. I said that Mr. Rush might perhaps also have his particular views in wishing to return to the United States during the present year, and that I hoped there would be no interval between Mr. Rush's mission and that of his successor. He said he doubted whether Mr. Gallatin would accept the appointment to England, and had thoughts of writing him a private and confidential letter to enquire. I advised him to take some further time to consider of it. He authorized me to write a letter of recall to General Dearborn—which I did.

28th. Richard M. Johnson, Senator from Kentucky, called to renew recommendations of a person named Steele, as Consul at Acapulco, in Mexico. He talked also upon general politics, and told me, as an illustration of the extent to which the system of "espionage" of Crawford's partisans is now carried, that he had lately been to Philadelphia, where he passed two or three days. While there, he occasionally conversed with persons whom he met on the prospects of the Presidential election. Yesterday Van Buren accosted him with, "So, you have been electioneering at Philadelphia!" and, upon being asked what he meant, took out a letter and gave it him to read, folding down the page so that he could not see the name of the writer; and this letter spoke of, and gave a false coloring to, his conversations at Philadelphia.

Johnson spoke of the two controversies now before the nation, between Edwards and Crawford and between W. Lowrie and G. Hay. In the National Intelligencer of yesterday there is a letter to the editors in reply to the last publication of Lowrie, signed by Hay, and couched in language of extreme bitterness and severity.

Johnson said he did not know what Lowrie could say to it, as he was not a fighting man; but he had looked very blue upon it yesterday. As to the affair of Edwards, he said, there was no doubt on his mind that Crawford had mismanaged the public funds, and lost nearly a million of dollars to the public by loose indulgences to the Western banks; but that as to

the particular continuance of the deposits in the Edwardsville Bank, it was very much desired and promoted by Edwards himself.

Mr. Addington, the British Chargé d'Affaires, came twice, and brought the second time a certified copy of the Convention for the suppression of the slave-trade, signed by Mr. Rush, with Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Stratford Canning, on the 13th of March. I received this morning a dispatch from Rush, dated the 20th of March, a week after the conclusion of the Convention, and alluding to it, but not the Convention itself; for which I know not how to account. Addington was greatly disappointed on learning that I had not received the Convention; and said he was instructed to urge its ratification with all possible dispatch, so that it might be sent back in time to be communicated to Parliament before the close of their session. The copy was brought by the British packet, which came direct to New York for that purpose. She was to sail in eight days for Halifax; but if there was a prospect that the ratification could be dispatched hence by the 15th, he would detain the packet till that time, and send her back direct to England without going to Halifax at all. He read me several passages from a letter of Mr. S. Canning to him, expressing earnestness that the ratified Convention might be sent back as soon as possible, as the session of Parliament would be unusually short. Addington said he had also received a fresh and very urgent instruction upon our discriminating duties between rolled and hammered iron; of which he would call and speak to me tomorrow. It threatens to lay heavier duties on our cotton, because it is ginned, by considering it as a manufactured article.

I said I thought that would dissolve the whole Convention of 1815. I took Mr. Addington's copy of the Slave-Trade Convention to the President's, and there read it to him. It varies in very few and quite unimportant particulars from that of which I sent the draft to Mr. Rush last summer.

29th. I received the Convention for the suppression of the slave-trade, signed the 13th of last month at London, with a dispatch from R. Rush giving an account of the negotiation,

and copies of the protocols, and of the counter-projet presented by the British Plenipotentiaries. I took them over to the President's, read to him the letter, and left with him the protocols and the counter-projet. The Convention, as concluded, differs only in a very few unimportant particulars from the draft which I sent to R. Rush last June. Mr. George Canning, in his speech to Parliament on the 16th of March, represented it as a mutual concession of the right of search. This being republished in our newspapers, Mr. George Hay came to the office this morning to enquire if it could possibly be so. I told him it was so understood and represented by Mr. Canning; but it was a right of search only as incidental to a right of capture for piracy—a right which is necessarily involved in the right of capture for piracy by the law of nations.

The President asked me to draft a message to send to the Senate with the Convention, and said he would send it in to-morrow.

I took also to the President's a new application from Mr. Silvestre Rebello to be received as Chargé d'Affaires from the Emperor of Brazil, with which he sent me a copy of the projected Constitution of the Empire. I had also received a long letter of 8th and 12th March, from C. Raguet, exhibiting a precarious and doubtful condition of things at Rio de Janeiro, particularly the prospect of a blockade of Pernambuco with a French naval force, the commander of which furnishes aid to the Emperor of Brazil under the title of His Royal Highness the Prince of Brazil.

The President directed me to send round these papers to the members of the Administration, and to call a meeting at his house the day after to-morrow, at noon.

After returning to the office, I drew up the message to be sent to the Senate with the Convention. Mr. Addington came, and I told him that I had received the Convention, which would be sent in to the Senate to-morrow. He read me the dispatch from Mr. Canning concerning the duties on rolled and hammered iron, containing the delicate threat to overtax our cotton because it is ginned. I told Addington I would make known the substance of this dispatch to members of Congress of both Houses.

30th. I received this morning a note from Colonel John Taylor, of Caroline, the Senator from Virginia, asking for the introductory letters that I had promised to Mr. Roy. I called upon him, and told him that I had sent the letters some days since to Mr. Roy, at Gloster Court-House, according to his directions. Taylor spoke also of other subjects, and expressed a strong apprehension that the charges of Mr. Edwards against Mr. Crawford will be decided not upon principles of justice, but upon political expediency alone. This appears to be the universal opinion.

May 1st. John Reed, a member of the House from Massachusetts, came with a letter claiming the interposition of the Government for the recovery of certain money seized in Mexico. I told him I would write to the Consul at Alvarado concerning it. Reed said he was soon going home, and spoke of the Presidential election. He is a federalist, but he says that two-thirds of his constituents are Republicans. He professed to be very friendly to me, but intimated an opinion that it would ultimately be necessary for my friends to unite with those of Mr. Crawford. I told him there was nothing to be expected from that, but he said the assurances from the friends of Mr. Crawford were very strongly otherwise. I said that I had understood that a systematic effort was making to unite the federal party in Massachusetts in favor of Mr. Crawford, and that the great struggle of the federalists at the recent State election for Governor was connected with that purpose. He said it was not a general feeling, but that some of the federalists favored Mr. Crawford from an apprehension that my prejudices against them were so strong, that in the event of my election they would be altogether proscribed.

I asked him if he thought there was a doubt of my election by a large majority of the electoral votes but for an opposition from the Republican party on the very ground of my being suspected of too much federalism. He said there was not. I told him I had originally been a federalist, just such as President Washington had been. But of the course that had been pursued by the federalists during and preceding the late war my opinion was well known, and had been fully manifested by

my conduct. Personally, the federalists had done me wrong, and I expected no favor from them. But during the whole of the present Administration it had been at least as much supported by the federalists as by the Republicans. If it should be the pleasure of the people of the United States that I should serve them as their President, I should be the President not of a section, nor of a faction, but of the whole Union. If the federalists chose, as a body, to array themselves against me, I should not complain, and very probably they might prevent my election. Possibly their opposition, however, might strengthen me in the opposite party, and if, after a combined and continued movement against me, I should still be elected, they must be aware how much the difficulty would be increased of favoring them with appointments without disgusting those of the opposite party claiming the merit of friendly support against them.

He was aware of all this, and said that he should endeavor to secure the choice in his district of an elector favorable to me. He said there was an appearance of opposition to me in the Old Colony greater than in any other part of the State; the reason of which he did not know. But he had heard yesterday one of the Republican members say that if two of the federal members from Massachusetts should be for me, that would be sufficient. This had displeased him. Why should only two be wanted? Why not the whole?

I said I supposed the motive for that observation was with reference to a majority of the whole delegation. I knew not how any of the federal members from Massachusetts would vote, but I had supposed that Nelson, Dwight, Reed himself, Locke, and Allen would be for me—and probably Lathrop. Webster I considered as doubtful, and Baylies as certainly against me. He said Baylies might possibly change if all the rest of the delegation should be united; but he was certainly very much against me, having some connection with a nail-manufactory in Bristol County in which H. G. Otis has an interest. His rancor against me, therefore, is derivative from Otis. Reed declared himself entirely satisfied with this conversation, which, he said, he had been for some time desirous of having with me.

I attended the Cabinet meeting at the President's at noon. The question with regard to the recognition of the Emperor of Brazil, and the reception of Mr. Rebello as his Chargé d'Affaires, was again discussed. The information from Brazil, from Lisbon, from France, and from Europe generally, warrants a strong suspicion that the soi-disant Emperor of Brazil is in secret concert with his father, and with France, to sink back into a Portuguese Prince of Brazil, and to restore the Portuguese dominion in that country. There is resistance also against the imperial domination in Brazil itself, and he had declared a blockade of Pernambuco, assisted by a French force. I mentioned also the letter I had received from W. Bezeau, styling himself late a captain in the U. S. Army, warning me of this Mr. Rebello as of a suspicious character. I advised that I should be directed to send for him and in a conciliatory manner inform him that it is thought best to delay for some time the formal reception of him; and this was finally determined without opposition.

The President intimated a disposition to send a message to Congress in secret session, communicating all the various exciting letters and dispatches which have lately been received. It is all indefinite alarm.

I observed that unless such a communication to Congress should be made with the intention of recommending to them something to *do*, it would only increase the excitement already existing. Mr. Calhoun concurred in that opinion.

At the office I drafted a form of ratification for the Convention now before the Senate. As I was returning from the President's after the meeting, I met Mr. Crawford, who was going to it. He said he had not received the notice to attend it till within half an hour.

2d. I called at Mr. Fuller's lodgings, and saw him. He goes for home to-morrow morning. Fuller read to me letters from Mr. Sedgwick, and from H. Wheaton, respecting the publication signed "Mercury," in the New York Patriot, charging Fuller with having stated that I had authorized him to offer the Vice-Presidency to Mr. Clay. Gardner, the editor of the Patriot, has published the denial of Fuller, but paltered and equivocated

in the manner of publishing the denial, and stated in the paper that the author of "Mercury" would communicate directly to Mr. Fuller himself. He told Sedgwick that "Mercury" would write to Fuller by the same mail; but Fuller has received no letter from him, and he will doubtless continue to lurk. Fuller suspects Jonathan Russell; but I do not.

He spoke of Clay, who, he says, is now quite flushed with hopes, and told Crowninshield that he was already sure of eight States, and should be elected. He plays brag, as he has done all his life. Fuller said he would see D. P. Cook this evening. I told him Cook had not called to see me since the presentation of N. Edwards's address to the House, and probably had his reasons for avoiding it. I had not sought him; I had heard Cook's intention was to take no part in this transaction in the House—which was very well, unless he should find it necessary to sustain the character of Mr. Edwards. I had strong presentiments that it would be so, and, in friendship for Mr. Edwards, wished that Cook might be fully aware of the predicament in which he may be placed, and prepared for it.

3d. Mr. John Reed, member from Massachusetts, came for a further conversation upon the subject on which we had spoken last Saturday. He had since then seen and talked with Webster, and had asked him to see and talk with me; which he had declined. He said that Webster had expressed apprehensions that in the event of my election there would be a general proscription of federalists from office, and intimated that he could not favor a system by which such men as Jeremiah Mason, of New Hampshire, and Joseph Hopkinson, of Pennsylvania, should be excluded from the public service. Reed said he did not believe that I should act upon any such principle, but did not tell Webster that he had conversed with me. I told Reed that with regard to individuals it was impossible for me to give any pledge whatever. I had no personal acquaintance with Mr. Mason, but knew him by reputation as a man of fine talents and highly respectable character. Mr. Hopkinson was, and had been for many years, my personal friend. I consider them both as well qualified for the public service, and never, under any circumstances, would I be made the instrument of

a systematic exclusion of such men from it. With regard to Mr. Webster, I knew that lures had been held out to him from other quarters—even from that which assumed the livery of exclusive and patent republicanism; the caucus chief, avowedly proclaimed in the address of his partisans as to be supported on party grounds alone. I knew there was a negotiation going on between that very party and the Massachusetts federalists, and I knew the men by whom it was conducted. How far Mr. Webster was connected with it I did not know. If he thought proper to join in the concerted plan of opposition to me, I must abide by the issue; I had no favors to ask of him; but if he should take that course I believed he would fail, even in the object of carrying the Massachusetts federalists with him. Reed said he thought so too, but he did not believe that Webster had committed or would commit himself upon the subject. Reed appeared also to place great reliance upon South Carolina; in which, I told him, he would find himself mistaken—the object of the South Carolina delegation being to get all possible aid from my friends without yielding anything in return. Whatever it was in Mr. Calhoun's power to transfer he had transferred to General Jackson, and now his friends were seeking support both from Jackson and from me.

Reed said that Gist and Wilson, the two members who attended the caucus and were for Crawford, openly avowed that in the event of his being withdrawn they would be for me; that he counted further upon Poinsett, Hamilton, and Carter in the House, and Hamilton had told him that Jackson's votes for the tariff would lose him the electoral votes of South Carolina.

I had no faith in this, and assured Reed he might depend that nothing was to be expected from South Carolina. As supporters of the present Administration, however, I wished to be upon the best possible terms with them, without expecting anything from them for the future.

Mr. Addington came, and asked of the progress of the Convention before the Senate. I told him they would probably get through it in the course of this week. He spoke also of a

correspondence between Commodore Porter and Sir Edward Owen of a delicate character, and which he had heretofore informally mentioned to Mr. Southard, the Secretary of the Navy. He is now to address me officially concerning it. Something was also said of the transactions recently at Algiers, and Addington spoke very gratefully of Shaler's proceedings, both now and heretofore.

Mr. Rufus King, Senator from New York, called, and conversed upon various topics. 1. The Convention. He says no opposition to it is contemplated in the Senate, but the papers are not yet printed, and the tariff absorbs all the interest and feeling of the Senate at this time. Ten States are inflexible on each side of the question, four fluctuating, and the issue altogether doubtful. King himself is against the tariff, and very highly excited. 2. The Edwards and Crawford controversy. He says the issue of the whole depends upon the firmness and incorruptible integrity of Webster, who told him he was determined there should be a thorough investigation of the subject. King, at Webster's desire, has written to Mason, of New Hampshire, and to R. Stockton, of New Jersey, to ask a free communication of their views as to the propriety of a complete investigation. He has not yet received the answer of either of them. King plainly told Webster that it depended upon him whether this affair should be laid open in all its true colors, or smothered as it has been twice before. King says that Van Buren told him that General McArthur, one of the members of the committee, had said to a third person that he had examined all the documents, and satisfied himself that Mr. Crawford was a perfectly honest man.

5th. Mr. Rebello came, as I had last evening, at my house, requested that he would. I told him the grounds upon which the President had concluded to delay for some time the reception of him as Chargé d'Affaires from the Emperor of Brazil. The information received from Lisbon that France was actively negotiating there; the blockade of Pernambuco, announced by the Government of Rio de Janeiro itself, recognizing a formal resistance in Brazil against that Government; the acceptance of a French naval force, offered as to "His Royal Highness

the Prince of Brazil," to reduce Pernambuco, and symptoms indicated on the part of the Emperor himself to restore the Portuguese authority in Brazil, all concurring with the fact that the Constitution formed by the Emperor's authority had not yet been sworn to by him, were inducements for postponing a decision here; it might be, however, only for a very short time, as the course of events might even in a few days remove the equivocal appearances which left doubts of the establishment of an independent Government in Brazil.

He appeared to be much disappointed, and said there was no foundation for the suspicion that Brazil was not finally and irrevocably independent of Portugal. He denied that the Emperor had suffered himself to be treated as "His Royal Highness the Prince of Brazil" by the commander of the French squadron, and declared that the offer of aid from that officer to blockade Pernambuco had not been accepted. He said they had made war upon Portugal. They had stationed a frigate off Lisbon, which had made several captures of Portuguese vessels, which had been condemned in Brazil. He knew not how the security of independence could be more firmly maintained. He wished that the United States might be the first to recognize the independence of Brazil. The formation of an American system, under the auspices of the United States, to counteract the European system, was very desirable, and must necessarily give an ascendency to the influence of the United States in Brazil and throughout America—an influence which both France and Britain were assiduously laboring to anticipate. The commercial relations between the United States and Brazil were already important, and were increasing. He wished that the political relations between them might be of the most friendly and harmonious character, and regretted that the hesitation and delay of recognition would have a tendency to produce a coolness in the sentiments of the two nations towards each other.

I replied that I would report the substance of his observations to the President, and would then further communicate with him; that in the mean time every attention would be paid to any representation that he should make upon subjects

which he had in charge from his Government. He said that, as the session of Congress was drawing towards a close, he regretted the length of time which must pass before he could receive a definitive answer.

I said that the recognition and his reception might as well take place during the recess of Congress as while they are in session.

He observed that I had mentioned to him that his written narrative and representations to me would be communicated to Congress.

I said, certainly; but that if he should be received during the recess they would be sent to Congress at the commencement of the next session.

He asked me if I would give him an answer to the notes he had addressed to me in writing.

I said if he wished it I would take the directions of the President in that respect, and was not aware that he would have any objection. We had supposed that he himself might prefer that the assignation of our reasons for delaying his reception should be given verbally rather than in writing.

He asked if I had not given written answers to the Spanish South American Agents before the recognition of their Governments.

I said I had sometimes, and sometimes had answered only verbally. I would, however, take the directions of the President, and very shortly let him know the result. Immediately after he left me I went to the President's, and made him a full report of what had passed between us. I found the President strongly inclined to receive him. He said that the essential principle for us was the point of independence. The form of government was not our concern, and by avoiding to meddle with it we should come less in collision with the European powers. I had received this morning from C. Raguet a duplicate of his letter of 8th March, with an additional postscript of the 24th, saying that the Emperor was to take the oath to the Constitution the next day, and that all was tranquil; no additions to the French squadron, of which the letter of the 8th had announced fifteen vessels as an expected reinforcement of

the four which had arrived. The President concluded to suspend for a few days more his determination.

6th. At the office, G. B. English came again, having seen the President this morning. English enquired whether it was thought advisable to accept the proposition made to him by the Capitan Pasha—which was, that in the course of the ensuing summer, when he should be in command of the Turkish squadron in the Mediterranean, the commander of the American squadron there should be authorized to meet him and make to him such proposals for a treaty as the American Government might desire. He would then communicate them directly to the Sultan, and, if he should approve them, the treaty might be concluded before any of the European powers should have any knowledge of the transaction.

This expedient is devised to evade the interference of the Ministers of European powers, especially of Great Britain, to prevent a treaty; which would be inevitable if the attempt to negotiate one should be made at Constantinople.

I observed to English that the resort to this mode of negotiation was liable to objections; the most prominent of which was suggested by his own dispatches. It appeared from these that the Reis Effendi, the Ottoman Minister of Foreign Affairs, entertained already some suspicion of this design, and was probably exasperated against it, so that English had considered himself for some time in personal danger, and doubtful whether he should get safely away from the country.

He said that was true. But the Capitan Pasha had been for several years the avowed and acknowledged patron of the American nation at the Porte. An overture might therefore be made through him directly to the Sultan, without encroaching upon the Department of the Reis Effendi. And this overture could not be more advantageously made than by an apparently casual meeting between him and the commander of the American squadron in the Mediterranean. Its success would depend upon the light in which it would be viewed by the Sultan; and the Capitan Pasha must be purchased by the usual presents in case of success.

I told English that the President would reflect upon the subject, and come to his determination as soon as possible.

He asked me if he could flatter himself with an expectation of further employment, and said he had been for many years habituated to consider me as his patron and friend.

I said it would always give me pleasure to serve him, but I could promise him nothing at this time. If any occasion should present itself of giving him a suitable occupation, I would not be unmindful of him.

7th. Mr. George Hay and Mr. Mosher called, and, it being a stormy morning, Hay said they had come with a view to avert a storm from me; that there was much uneasiness and excitement in the public mind upon this Convention recently concluded with Great Britain, in which, it was said, the mutual right of search at sea had been conceded; insomuch that a meeting had been called at Baltimore to memorialize the Senate against the ratification of it. They both asked a number of questions concerning it, which I answered by giving them the necessary explanations.

The causes of this ebullition are two. The first, a statement made by George Canning in Parliament, that in this Convention the right of search was mutually conceded; and this statement, made by him as a gilding to the pill, of a bill to make the slave-trade piracy the sine quâ non and preliminary to the concession of the mutual right of capture, and consequent right of visitation and search—which bill he was then to introduce and carry through Parliament—is the first and as yet the only knowledge which our people have of this Convention; it having been circulated by paragraphs in all our newspapers.

The second is the keen and eager look-out of my political opponents at this moment for anything that may serve as a missile weapon against me. They have thus snatched at this jesuitical statement of Canning, and, without seeing the Convention, endeavor to raise a popular clamor against me for conceding the right of search.

Mr. Addington, the British Chargé d'Affaires, came with a copy of an instruction to him from Mr. George Canning, and

its enclosure, the Act of Parliament as passed on the 31st of March, making the slave-trade piracy. They were sent by an extra packet, dispatched for the special purpose of bringing out the Act, and which has arrived at Annapolis. Mr. Addington had sent me this morning a dispatch from R. Rush, of 1st April, enclosing a printed copy of the bill, as it had passed the House of Lords the preceding day, and a private letter of the 2d. Addington was inquisitive as to the sentiments of this Government with regard to the correspondence between Commodore Porter and Sir Edward Owen.

I told him, in my private judgment, Porter and Gregory were wrong, but what the sentiments of the Government might be I must wait the instructions of the President to tell him. The main point of Addington's complaint was, the evil tendency of Gregory's making the public conduct of an officer in another service the ground of a personal quarrel. This is certainly wrong. But the mischief at the bottom is the practice of duelling; and if I should now make this a case for strong censure, either upon Gregory or Porter, it would infallibly be set down to the account of Presidential electioneering. So whimsical is the operation of accidental coincidences in human affairs.

I told Addington that I heard it was probable there would be opposition to the ratification of the Convention in the Senate. He said he knew there would; that it would be opposed by General Jackson and Mr. Macon. I took to the President's the dispatches received from England, and reported to him Mr. Addington's remarks. He seemed undetermined what to do with the complaint against Porter and Gregory, and a little uneasy at the opposition in the Senate to the ratification of the Slave-Trade Piracy Convention. He said he thought it very important, not only in itself, but as indicating to the European Holy Alliance an understanding upon that great interest between the United States and Great Britain. He directed that copies of the papers this day received from England should be sent to-morrow to the Senate.

Evening. Attended a party at Colonel Tayloe's—a wedding-ball. I spoke there to Governor Barbour and Mr. R. King of the Convention. King approves it, but Barbour, a

caucus man, seemed very coolly disposed towards it. Mercer, however, who was also there, was for it with all his enthusiasm, and told me that until the Convention came the fault he had found with my part of the negotiation was that I had insisted upon too much from Great Britain, though he was now satisfied that I had taken the best course. R. King told me that he had received an answer to the letter he had mentioned to me as having written to R. Stockton, and had sent it to Mr. Webster. It expressed the opinion that it would depend upon Webster alone whether the enquiry instituted by this committee should be a real investigation or a delusion. Webster, in returning this letter to Mr. King, said the writer had been mistaken; that a majority of the committee were determined to make a thorough and judicial investigation of the charges.

8th. Mr. McLean, the Postmaster-General, called. He wrote me, some days since, a letter asking my opinion upon the subject of internal improvement, and a copy of the resolution offered by me to the Senate on the 23d of February, 1807. I answered his letter, and he now came to ask my leave to send a copy of my answer to his brother, in the State of Ohio. I told him I had no objection, but wished him only not to suffer it to get into the newspapers, as that would look too much like advertising my opinions. He said he would take care of that. His brother is one of the names on the proposed electoral ticket for Ohio, and writes that he is sanguine of success. We know so little of that in futurity which is best for ourselves, that whether I ought to *wish* for success is among the greatest uncertainties of the election. Were it possible to look with philosophical indifference to the event, that is the temper of mind to which I should aspire; but

> "Who can hold a fire in his hand
> By thinking on the frosty Caucasus?"

To suffer without feeling is not in human nature; and when I consider that to me alone, of all the candidates before the nation, failure of success would be equivalent to a vote of censure by the nation upon my past service, I cannot dissemble to

myself that I have more at stake upon the result than any other individual in the Union. Yet a man qualified for the elective Chief Magistracy of ten millions of people should be a man proof alike to prosperous and to adverse fortune. If I am able to bear success, I must be tempered to endure defeat. He who is equal to the task of serving a nation as her chief ruler must possess resources of a power to serve her even against her own will. This is the principle that I would impress indelibly upon my own mind, and for the practical realization of which in its proper result I look to wisdom and strength from above.

10th. Dr. Thornton called upon me this morning, to say that he had prepared a book to be deposited in the Congress library at the Capitol, to contain the subscriptions of all persons in the service of the United States, at Washington, for the Greeks. His project was that every individual would subscribe one day's pay. He had requested the subscription of the President, who told him he would consult the members of his Administration upon the propriety of his subscribing. The Doctor hoped I should advise him to do it. The Secretaries of War and the Navy had said they would subscribe if the President and I did. Lord Eldon, the English Chancellor, had subscribed a hundred pounds sterling, and even the Quakers in England had subscribed upwards of seven thousand pounds. The Greeks were in great want of it, and in deep distress. There was a tremendous force of Turks going against them; but the Bashaw of Egypt had declared himself independent of the Sultan, and there was no doubt that, by the diversion he would make, the cause of the Greeks would be triumphant.

I told him he ought to have a subscription-book number two for the Bashaw of Egypt; at which he laughed, and said, yes, it would be very proper.

But, to answer seriously his question, I told him I should not subscribe for the Greeks, nor advise the President to subscribe. We had objects of distress to relieve at home more than sufficient to absorb all my capacities of contribution; and a subscription for the Greeks would, in my view of things, be a breach of neutrality, and therefore improper.

The Doctor said he was very sorry to find in me, instead of an assistant, as he expected, an opponent, and urged all the arguments of the crusading spirit applicable to the case; but I was inflexible.

While he was flourishing for the Greeks and their cause, T. H. Benton, Senator from Missouri, came in, and introduced the Reverend Salmon Giddings, of St. Louis, who had a subscription-book for building a Presbyterian church at that place. I subscribed for that instead of the Greeks.

11th. Mr. H. G. Burton called with Mr. Mann, who is to go as an informal Agent to Guatemala. Mr. Mann had seen the President, and made many enquiries concerning the character of his Agency, the objects to which it would be devoted, and its probable duration; also the manner how he was to obtain a conveyance to the place of his destination. He said he wanted to return home to North Carolina for about a fortnight before his departure; and I told him that during that time I would endeavor to prepare his instructions. I also promised to enquire if there was a public vessel in which he could have a passage. He spoke of his baggage and library, as being desirous of taking them with him. These private economies of our public Ministers and Agents are among the most disagreeable appendages to my public duties. I told him of the principal objects of his mission; that the first of them was to obtain and transmit information respecting the country to which he was going —a new central South American and, as it would seem, confederated republic, situated at and including the Isthmus of Panama, a position of the highest geographical importance— important also by the commercial connections, and lodgments on the soil by the British, with the neighboring bay of Honduras and Mosquito shore. It was furthermore interesting from the step at one time taken by the province of St. Salvador, now forming a portion of the republic, to connect itself directly with the United States. It was understood that one of the deputies who came here on that occasion was now, or recently had been, at the head of the new Guatemalan Government. By the public newspapers it appeared that they had appointed a public Agent or Minister to come to

the United States. The republic bordered upon those of Mexico, Colombia, and Peru; but our information concerning it was scanty, and we expected to receive much from his Agency.

12th. I had received a note from S. Smith, Chairman of the Committee of Finance of the Senate, requesting me to meet them at the Capitol at nine o'clock this morning. They had a bill from the House of Representatives creating five millions of dollars stock, at an interest of four and a half per cent., to pay the awards of the Commissioners under the Florida Treaty. The committee wished to ask my opinion upon the construction of the provisions in the eleventh article of the treaty. Mr. King, of New York, had written me a note last evening stating the purport of their enquiry. The committee were Smith, of Maryland, Macon, Holmes, of Maine, King, of New York, and Lowrie. The eleventh article stipulates that the United States would pay the awards to the amount of five millions of dollars, either immediately from the Treasury, or in stock at six per cent., payable from the proceeds of the sales of the lands, or in any other manner that Congress might direct.

The questions were two: first, was the payment in any other manner as a third alternative applicable to both the prior members of the sentence, or only an alternative for the payment of the stock otherwise than by the proceeds of the lands? the second, whether the interest as well as the principal might be made payable from the proceeds of the lands; which included the question whether Congress might not postpone the payment, and even the allowance of the interest, till they should choose to open land offices; involving also the question whether, if the lands should not fetch five millions, Congress would be bound to pay more, whether principal or interest, than they would fetch.

I told the committee they were aware that treaties must speak for themselves, and that every other person was as competent to construe their stipulations as the negotiator of them. With this preliminary remark, I could tell them what I had intended in drawing the articles. It was that Congress should pay the five millions, in cash or in stock, at their option; and

if in stock, from the proceeds of lands, or in any other manner; but in *some* manner.

As to the question what was to be done if the proceeds of the lands fall short of the five millions, there had never entered such a thought into my mind. Whether correctly or not, I had believed, nor harbored a doubt, that the lands would sell for more than double the five millions.

The committee spoke also of the question concerning the discrimination between the duties on rolled and hammered iron as bearing on the Tariff bill; but this was merely incidental. After about an hour's interview with the committee, they dismissed me, and I went into the Senate-chamber just as they were meeting for the day.

The Vice-President took the chair, and they proceeded upon the Tariff bill. Motions for removing the discrimination between rolled and hammered iron, and for prohibiting rolled iron, were made and discussed, and finally withdrawn. Then various other amendments were proposed and disposed of; and the question upon the passage of the bill to a third reading was taken by yeas and nays—twenty-five and twenty-two. The Senate then went into the consideration of Executive business, and I passed into the House of Representatives, where they were occupied on various bills of minor importance. I remained there until the adjournment, between three and four o'clock. Many of the members came and spoke with me—some upon affairs of their own, and others upon those of their friends. Crowninshield came, and told me he was very much afraid of Rhode Island's going wrong, and had been endeavoring to prevail upon Knight to take a warm and decided part, but he seemed to hang back. I told him Knight *could* not take a decided part until he should ascertain which side would be strongest. He was elected by a majority of a single vote to the Senate. To obtain that, his colleague, De Wolfe, says he made positive promises which he has now violated. De Wolfe says also that Knight urged him to attend the caucus, by telling him that, if he did not, Bates would be renominated and appointed Collector at Bristol. Knight's propensities were to Crawford, but he would endeavor to secure influence to himself

with the next Administration by finally coming out for him who may succeed. There was more hope of De Wolfe than of him. Crowninshield said Knight had told him De Wolfe was for Crawford. I said that might be, but I did not believe it; his bias was otherwise; although I had no doubt he too would finally go with the majority. Crowninshield still thought he could do something with Knight, and I told him he might, if he pleased, renew his experiment.

Knight and Hayne and Van Buren afterwards came in from the Senate, where they had laid upon the table the Slave-Trade Convention. Crawfordism has taken the alarm lest this concert between the United States and Great Britain for suppressing the slave-trade should turn to a concert for the abolition of slavery. Knight told me he thought the duration of the Convention was too long, and that it should be limited. Hayne asked if, in case the Convention should be ratified without limitation, we could afterwards repeal the law making the slave-trade piracy, and thereby annul the Convention. I thought we could not. Van Buren said he thought we could.

13th. There was a Cabinet meeting at the President's at one o'clock. Mr. Crawford, Mr. Calhoun, and Mr. Southard were present. The question was again upon the expediency of receiving Mr. Silvestre Rebello as Chargé d'Affaires from the Emperor of Brazil. The advice from Mr. Raguet of 24th March, that the Emperor was to take the oath to the Constitution the next day, and the later accounts in the newspapers that he actually had done so, removed some of the obstacles which there had been at the last meeting to an immediate recognition of the Brazilian Empire. Mr. Wirt, who had then been the principal objector, was now not present, and Mr. Crawford, then absent, now declared himself decisively for the immediate reception of Rebello. He said we had nothing to do with their forms of government. It was our principle not to intermeddle with them, and we could not justify delaying the recognition of the Brazilian Government on that account.

I suggested the propriety of a nomination of Raguet as Chargé d'Affaires at Rio de Janeiro immediately after the reception of Mr. Rebello, and of a message to Congress pro-

posing an appropriation for a Chargé d'Affaires to that Government.

The President seemed to think that no message to Congress would be necessary, but expressed himself willing to make the nomination to the Senate. He recurred to the decision in the autumn of 1817, that the power of recognizing foreign Governments was necessarily implied in that of receiving Ambassadors and public Ministers; though at the same time it was determined that the exercise of that power would not be expedient without good assurance that both Houses of Congress would in sentiment concur with the Executive upon the propriety of the measure. It will be well yet to reflect upon the most prudent course of proceeding in this case.

14th. Mr. R. King called this morning on me, and said he was apprehensive it would be absolutely necessary for the Senate to annex in some form a limitation to the Slave-Trade Convention now before them. He was much averse to it himself, and thought it very absurd. But there was no reasoning with fear. The members from some of the Southern States had taken a panic at the late speeches in the British Parliament looking to the abolition of slavery, and were exceedingly adverse to forming any concert with the British Government whatever in reference to the subject of slavery. The question was, whether the limitation should be for a term of years, or that the Convention may at any time be annulled on either side by giving a notice of days or months.

I said, of the two evils the limitation for a term of years would be the least; but either would be highly pernicious; that it would defeat the joint attempt to influence other nations to make the slave-trade piracy. For how absurd that we should try to prevail upon all other nations to declare it piracy, when they might retort upon us that we have shrunk from our own obligations, and made it a piracy for a term of years, reserving ourselves the right of repealing our own law! I said, also, that *any* limitation would be peculiarly ungracious from us, the whole project being our own, and adopted at our instance by Great Britain; of all which Mr. King himself is fully sensible.

At the office, I found Albert H. Tracy, member of the

House from New York, who sat and conversed with me an hour or more upon political topics generally. His object seemed to be to ascertain how the Presidential canvass stood, particularly in Connecticut, the Legislature of which is now in session. Tracy appeared to be convinced that the report of the Committee of Investigation would entirely justify Crawford, and in substance, if not in words, condemn Edwards. He thought they would even do this without waiting for Edwards to be here, although they have sent for him. And he said perhaps it would be the best thing that could happen for Edwards; because, after it was effected, the manifest injustice of it would turn the public mind in his favor.

Mr. Addington, the British Chargé d'Affaires, came to speak of the Slave-Trade Convention, and of the duties upon iron. He was much disconcerted at the unexpected opposition to the Convention in the Senate; at which I am not less mortified. As to the iron, I told him the removal of the discrimination was impossible; and that the ground taken for rejecting it would be that we receive rolled iron from other countries as well as from England—as appears from the returns of commerce for the last year, under Sanford's law.

15th. W. Plumer, a member from New Hampshire, was here this morning. He said Webster had spoken to him yesterday, and intimated that the committee would report altogether in favor of Mr. Crawford; that upon the charges of Mr. Edwards he had substantially justified himself, and there was no ground for censure, at least of a serious nature, upon him; that as to his charge upon Edwards, they considered that as a personal affair, into which they would not enter; it was a quarrel between two individual officers of the Government, which Congress were under no necessity of deciding. As this decision would bear heavily upon Edwards, he and Cook would be wanting to mingle the Presidential question with it, and to get the friends of the other candidates to oppose the report in the House and censure it without-doors. But it was best to separate it from the Presidential question altogether, and to let Edwards fall upon his own demerits. And it was desirable that the editors of the newspapers friendly to me should have

a hint to take that course, representing the whole affair as the report will do, and leave Edwards to his fate.

I said the committee might report to the House with regard to the charges against Mr. Crawford as favorably as they could. His defence with regard to the management of the public funds was strong; that against the charge of withholding and suppressing documents, with the exception of the case of D. B. Mitchell's negro smuggling, upon which he says nothing, is plausible, and, with a spirit of liberality and candor, may be accepted as sufficient. Some circumstances which had a suspicious appearance, and upon which Edwards in his charges emphatically dwelt, are fully explained. He himself had in substance retracted a great portion of the indirect and ambiguous charge of perjury against Edwards, made in his report to the House of Representatives of 22d March last. But he has not retracted the whole of it, and, although he has adduced argument and circumstantial evidence to prove that he did not, in 1819, receive Edwards's publication in the St. Louis Enquirer, he has not explicitly denied it, nor has he given any sufficient reason for making that attack upon Edwards. That attack was the first public blow in the quarrel, and if Edwards had the feelings of a man it was impossible he should not return it. To sacrifice Edwards is not the way for the committee or the House to avoid taking part in this quarrel. I desired Plumer to say to Mr. Webster that, far from inducing any friends of mine to countenance such a report, I should consider it as the most revolting injustice; that if the committee meant to do justice between man and man, they ought to direct the attendance of Mr. Crawford before them, put him upon oath to answer whether he did or did not receive, in the autumn of 1819, the publication of Mr. Edwards in the newspaper, either from Edwards himself, or from Stephenson, the Receiver of public moneys, and President of the Edwardsville Bank. Whatever else Mr. Crawford in his reply had justified, he had not even palliated his attack upon Edwards. And if *he* should be sacrificed by the report of the committee, they would only make themselves the tools of Mr. Crawford's resentments. I should give no countenance, directly or indirectly, to that.

He said he understood that Livingston was drawing the report, and Webster was to revise it. Randolph went off the day before yesterday, for England, and Floyd is sick. Livingston and Webster were making up the report between themselves, and were rather shy of the other members.

Plumer said Webster had also spoken to him about the Presidential election; had told him that he should conform to the opinion of the State, but without taking *much* interest in the question. He was not for breaking terms with any party upon the subject. His object was the introduction of federalists into power. For himself, he was not ambitious; he was growing old, and would readily yield up any pretensions of his own if Jeremiah Mason could be promoted. He thought the Attorney-General's place would be a very good one for Mason. He did not exactly like the selection of General Jackson for Vice-President. And his opinion of Mr. Calhoun had, during the present session of Congress, very much depreciated. He thought Richard Rush would be a very suitable Vice-President. Plumer said he supposed that was to make a vacancy in the mission to Great Britain, which Webster would be willing to fill himself.

I told him it would not be necessary to make Rush Vice-President for that. He was at all events coming home—perhaps this next summer, but, if not, certainly at the close of this Administration. The objections to Rush as Vice-President with a Northern President were, to taking both the officers from non-slave-holding States—both from the same great section of the country. There was no person who could be substituted for Jackson to fill the Vice-Presidency; no man who had so solid a mass of popularity to secure in support of the Administration. He would be satisfied, and so would substantially his friends, to be Vice-President; and, as my supporters must oppose him for the Presidency, the only way that they could manifest their regard for him and their respect for his services was to vote for him as Vice-President. Plumer concurred in this opinion.

While he was here, Mr. Livermore, another member from New Hampshire, came to tell me that he was exceedingly afraid

of the effect of setting up General Jackson as Vice-President, on account of a passage in one of his letters to Mr. Monroe, just published, wherein he says he would have hung the three principal leaders of the Hartford Convention as spies.

I told Livermore they must set it off in favor of the fine sentiments in the same letter, for putting down the monster, party. It was a hasty and undigested sentiment thrown out in the privacy of a confidential letter, and it was hardly fair to hold him responsible for it.

Livermore said he was satisfied. He had only been afraid, as there would be two tickets made up at their meeting of the Legislature in June, that the name of General Jackson annexed to mine might rather tend to weigh down than assist it.

I said the Vice-Presidency was a station in which the General could hang no one, and in which he would need to quarrel with no one. His name and character would serve to restore the forgotten dignity of the place, and it would afford an easy and dignified retirement to his old age.

T. Newton, member from Virginia, came with a draft of a report, as Chairman of the Committee of Commerce, upon Breck's resolution to enquire if any law exists contravening the Convention of 1815 with Great Britain. He affirms there does not, and, in answer to the British complaint, avers that rolled as well as hammered iron is imported from other countries as well as from Great Britain. The returns of commerce under Sanford's law for the year ending last September show a considerable importation of rolled iron from Sweden and a small one from Russia.

I told Newton I wished he would add a brief argument, to show that rolled and hammered iron were not the like articles; but he did not incline to this.

Mr. George Hay called, as he not unfrequently does, seemingly to enquire for news and to sound opinions. He spoke of Mr. Crawford's answer to Edwards's address as very unsatisfactory, and upon some observations that I made, referring to points upon which I thought it a good defence, he said I was rather more candid and charitable towards Mr. Crawford than he was.

Mr. W. C. Bradley, member from Vermont, called to take leave, going for home to-morrow. He spoke of the late Commissioner C. P. Van Ness's claim for salary higher than the law of Congress allows; to be considered as speedily as possible. Pleasanton had proposed a trial at law; but that, he thought, would not answer. Bradley said, too, that Storrs had intimated to him that in my letter of instruction to R. Rush last summer upon the Northeastern boundary I had censured the whole proceedings of the Commission under the fifth article of the Ghent Treaty, so as to include the American Commissioner and Agent in the censure. I told Bradley I had no such intention; I had considered the conduct of the British Commissioner and Agent as absolutely shameful, and had pointed at transactions of the Commission resulting from it as unfit, for the credit of both parties, to be laid before a third party, being a foreign sovereign. Bradley said he had been utterly ashamed of them himself. I told him I would, some time when he had leisure, show him the instruction itself. Storrs, as a member of the Committee of Foreign Relations of the House, obtained the perusal of the instruction by the confidential communication of it to the committee, and this is the use he has made of it. Yet Colonel Dwight, who is very intimate with Storrs, and himself an open, generous-hearted man, believes Storrs to be much my friend.

16th. Mr. Crowninshield, who was at church, walked home with me, and came in. He spoke to me of the extreme aversion of Hamilton, Chairman of the Military Committee, to calling up the bill for settling the Massachusetts claim, which he has reported. He said Hamilton had changed his views in this respect, and for what reason? Poinsett took the same course, and the federal portion of the Massachusetts delegation seemed to be not hearty in the cause of pressing it now to a decision.

I told him the coldness of the federal members of the delegation was easily accountable. If the settlement should now be obtained, it was upon principles opposite to theirs; they were sensible it must operate against their party, and therefore could not give their co-operation with much alacrity. As for

the mutations of Hamilton and Poinsett, I knew not how to account for them, unless as Vice-Presidential electioneering in behalf of Calhoun. William King had constantly made of the claim an electioneering engine for Crawford, and there were many indications that Calhoun and his friends were willing to make the same use of it.

17th. I received early this morning a note from the President making several enquiries respecting an opinion given by Mr. Wirt, the Attorney-General, on the 2d of February, 1820, as the President now supposed, on a resolution of the House of Representatives of 31st December, 1819, calling on the Secretary of the Treasury for information concerning the illicit introduction of slaves at the Creek Agency by D. B. Mitchell in 1817.

But it was not on the resolution of the House that the opinion was given; it was on a letter from Governor Clark, of Georgia, to me, enclosing charges against Mitchell, and resolutions of the Legislature of Georgia, which Clark requested might be communicated to the House of Representatives in answer to that call. I examined the documents of the time relating to the transaction, at my house and at the office, and made minutes of the dates of the successive proceedings material to the subject of the President's enquiries. Mr. Calhoun came in while I was engaged upon the enquiry, having been also requested by the President to give him information on the subject. He came to ask the date of Governor Clark's letter to me, and the time of its reception; which I told him.

I called at the President's, and Mr. Calhoun soon afterwards came in. Mr. Southard also came while we were there. The President was writing a short letter to Mr. Crawford, in answer to enquiries verbally made by him in conversation upon this subject. The President had consulted Mr. Wirt, and had on his table a letter from him, much of which consisted of erroneous conjecture upon an imperfect knowledge and recollection of the facts. Mr. Crawford reported on the 11th of January, 1820, in answer to the call of the House of 31st December, 1819. Two months before that time, several publications in the Georgia Journal by Clark, who was just then elected Governor of Georgia, had, though not under the

authority of his name, exposed the guilt of Mitchell in such manner as could leave little doubt upon any rational and impartial mind concerning it. These publications were perfectly notorious all over Georgia, and were well known to Mr. Crawford. Yet he made his report to the House on their resolution, and withheld the communication of all the documents in his possession, which deeply implicated Mitchell; among which were three letters from Mitchell to himself, and one from him to Mitchell. This is now made an incidental subject of enquiry by the Committee of Investigation, and Mr. Crawford's enquiries of the President have reference to it. The draft of the President's letter, after remarking that Governor Clark's letter was received after Mr. Crawford's report upon the resolution of the House had been made, concluded by saying, "of the other letters to which you refer I have no knowledge or recollection," or words to that effect.

I remarked to the President that these words might seem to imply a denial that Mr. Crawford had ever communicated the letters to him. But it appeared from the letters published in Mitchell's pamphlet that they were communicated to the President in 1818. He altered the phrase, after much discussion, so as to avoid all direct reference to the letters between Mitchell and Mr. Crawford, and simply to state that he had not pursued the enquiry beyond the letter of Governor Clark. I left with the President all the documents that I had collected at the office relating to the case, among which was a letter from Governor Clark, dated 14th February, 1821, with enclosures, upon which nothing was done, because it was received after Mitchell had been dismissed, upon the final opinion of the Attorney-General against him.

18th. Colonel R. M. Johnson, Senator from Kentucky, called on me this morning and introduced to me Mr. Prentiss, of that State, but formerly of Massachusetts. Johnson spoke of the Slave-Trade Convention now before the Senate, with great doubt whether it would be ratified at all; but, he said, it certainly would not without an annexed condition of limitation. It is opposed on two grounds: one, for the concession of the right of search; the other, from jealousy of the Southern members

against the views of the British Government concerning negro slavery. The caucus and the Presidential election also furnish other, though unavowed, motives for opposition.

I went to the President's, and found Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Southard with him. The first object of the meeting was to determine whether certain promotions of officers in the navy should be proposed as nominations to the Senate. Two captains and eleven lieutenants have died in the course of the last year. Shall their places be supplied by promotions, or shall they be left as economizing vacancies?

Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Southard were disposed to fill them up. The motives for this were abundant, in the wish to gratify the ambition of aspirants. Mr. Calhoun remarked that to leave officers too long stationary in rank had a tendency to produce discouragement and disorder in the service; the stimulus of hope being necessary to keep emulation active and to preserve from corrupting vices. I asked Mr. Southard if he had employment for all the officers now in active service. He said, no; not without putting more vessels in commission. I said the Franklin, seventy-four, was about to retire from the Pacific. Did he intend to send out this year another line-of-battle ship? No; he should have only a frigate in the South Sea, with perhaps a schooner.

I remarked that the pirates and the privateers in the West India seas had greatly diminished, and it was reasonably to be hoped would not again increase during the present year. It was to be expected that the expenses of the navy for the present year should be less than those of the last. If there was not full employment for all the officers in actual service, I should advise rather to leave the vacancies open, and say to the young gentlemen lacking advancement that they must wait.

Mr. Southard said there would also be some difficulty in making the selection for promotion. And I added that in the event of an emergency requiring the employment of more officers than we now have, it would always be in season to make the promotion.

It was asked how the Senators would feel disposed; and the President suggested that enquiry should be made, say of

Mr. Lloyd, of Massachusetts, and Colonel Hayne. I said that might be well, but I knew how they would answer. They would advise to the measure. It was not from them, or men like them, that opposition was to be foreseen. But there were others of very different character.

Calhoun said there were sixteen or seventeen members of the Senate who might be set down as systematically hostile to the Administration, and prepared to manifest that hostility by any opposition which they could urge with a prospect of success. Which success, I observed, by no means required that they should carry their measure against the Administration. For even when they could not defeat a proposed measure of the Administration, they could excite irritation against it in Congress, and clamor and discontent against it in the nation.

The President concluded that the vacancies should not be filled up at this time.

I mentioned the prospect that the Convention for the suppression of the slave-trade would be rejected in the Senate; at which the President was much astonished. The ostensible pretences of this unexpected opposition were mentioned—the concession of the right of search, and the panic of the South at the measures taking in England for the abolition of slavery, and with which this Convention was there associated. The real, or at least more operating, causes were only glanced at.

Mr. Calhoun proposed that Mr. Mercer should be engaged now, while the Convention was before the Senate, to offer a resolution in the House calling for information of what the Executive have done to carry into effect the resolution of the House. This motion might be laid on the table, and would operate as an admonition to some of the Senators.

I thought it more advisable to leave them now to act for themselves; but in the event of the rejection of the Convention it should, together with all the documents connected with it, be communicated to the House, as a sequel to those already sent in answer to a call moved by Mercer during the present session. I said if the debates in Senate on Executive business were public, I did not believe there would have been raised a voice against the Convention.

The President said that if they should reject the Convention he would take the strongest measure that could be adopted in placing it before the House.

Upon the subject of the Edwards and Crawford affair, I left with the President Mitchell's pamphlet, and extracts from my diary in January and February, 1820—relating to Governor Clark's letter to me, containing the charges against Mitchell, and showing why they were not communicated to Congress. I desired that the President, after perusing the extracts, would return them to me, as I brought them only with a view to refresh his memory by reference to the occurrences at the time.

He promised he would return them. He enquired whether I knew how the Committee of Investigation were likely to report.

I said I had heard they would report an entire justification of Mr. Crawford, and that which would be equivalent to censure upon Mr. Edwards.

He asked with evident anxiety whether, if they should so report, he could with propriety continue Mr. Edwards in the mission to Mexico.

I said that would be a subject for deliberate consideration. I had heard that the grounds upon which the committee were disposed to report so favorably to Mr. Crawford were, that they meant to confine their investigation to the charges of official misconduct against him, and did not mean to enquire into his implied charge against Edwards, which produced the explosion; on the plea that they would not interpose in the personal altercations of two officers of the Government. If this *should* be the basis of the report, and the House should sustain it, and the President should remove Mr. Edwards upon deference to such a decision, my belief was that Edwards could and would appeal to the nation upon it with effect. I had heard that after the report Mr. Crawford would probably demand the removal of Mr. Edwards.

The President said that would again present the subject in a different aspect. The position in which the President is placed with reference to Mr. Crawford and his party is exceedingly difficult. They are pursuing him personally and his Adminis-

tration with the deadliest rancor of hostility, and they are impudently charging him with hostility to Crawford. Upon the attack made by Cocke directly upon the President last week, Cobb, Forsyth, and Lewis Williams expressly protested that by their votes they did not mean to give an opinion upon the merits of the case. This was intended as a rod held up "in terrorem" to intimidate the President from acting upon Edwards's case in any manner unfavorably to Crawford. This is a subject which will have a long futurity.

19th. Colonel Dwight, a member of the House from Massachusetts, called to make a morning visit. Mr. Mower, of New York, was here, as I inferred from his conversation, to renew in behalf of De Witt Clinton the attempt to obtain for General Jackson the electoral vote of New York for the Presidency. He told me that he had seen Mr. Clinton, and a particular and intimate friend of his (Ambrose Spencer), who thoroughly approved of all the arrangements of Mower here, and were decidedly of opinion that there was *in the Legislature* no chance for any person against Mr. Crawford but me. Mr. Clinton was, however, doubtful whether by the purchase of Young, of Peter B. Porter, and with them of Clay's party, Mr. Crawford would not ultimately prevail in the Legislature. But Mr. Crary and Solomon Van Rensselaer were confident that Crawford could under no circumstances whatever obtain the vote of New York. But Governor Yates had determined to call the Legislature together and recommend to them the passage of an Act giving the choice of electors to the people. The proclamation was already prepared, and would issue immediately after the adjournment of Congress. It would instantly kill two men—William H. Crawford and Henry Clay; and if the election went before the people, no man could stand in competition with General Jackson. The 8th of January and the battle of New Orleans was a thing that every man would understand, and Mr. Clinton had told him that General Jackson would beat him (Clinton himself) before the people of New York by thirty-three and one-third per cent. Mower added that the editor of the Columbian Observer, Jackson's paper at Philadelphia, had mentioned to him that my father's Administration and federal-

ism would be objections against me. He said he supposed I knew this.

I said I had heard of it.

Mr. Addington, the British Chargé d'Affaires, came, in great solicitude for the fate of the Slave-Trade Convention before the Senate. He said he had been informed there was no possible chance that its ratification should be advised unless with a limitation to a term of years; and although it seemed absurd to connect together the ideas of piracy for a term of years with the law of nations—a great universal principle of morality for five years—yet rather than lose the Convention he would wish for the limitation, to which he had no doubt that, with the explanations that he should give, his Government would accede. He said it was perhaps on the consideration that such a difficulty might arise here, which Mr. Stratford Canning's knowledge of our Constitution might have led him to suggest, that the British ratification was reserved until the Convention should be returned with ours. Addington asked me also, observing that the question would not be deemed indiscreet, whether Mr. Rebello was received here as Chargé d'Affaires from the Emperor of Brazil. I told him that he had not yet been formally received, the definitive determination not having yet been taken.

We had much conversation upon the peculiar condition of Brazil at this time, involving the principle both of independence and of legitimacy in a manner altogether different from that of the Spanish Colonies.

While I was with the President, he received a short note from W. Lowrie, the Senator from Pennsylvania, returning him the copy of his (the President's) letter to General Jackson of 14th December, 1816, which Lowrie had received from Richmond anonymously and improperly detained. It was not signed, nor addressed to General Jackson, nor was the name of the General mentioned in it. But the last paragraph, of four or five lines, was in Mr. Monroe's handwriting, and the rest in that of the late Mr. Purviance.

The President said he did not know how to understand *this* movement of Mr. Lowrie.

I said I thought he should take it as a step towards conciliation, and a tacit acknowledgment that he had been wrong in detaining it hitherto.

He said he was yet perfectly confident that he had never read any letter to Findley and Lowrie; that he had never kept General Jackson's letter upon file on his table, and certainly did not, five or six years after it was written, go to his trunks to search for it on the occasion of the appointment of Irish. It was not until after a long search, and in an old forgotten trunk, that it was found when needed in February last.

Still, I believe that the President is mistaken; and this leads me to notice a proper discrimination in the estimate of seemingly contradictory testimony. The same incident produces impressions altogether different upon memories equally good. It is dangerous to oppose mere non-recollection, even though sustained by probable circumstances, to the assertion of positive remembrance, and my own experience concurs with my observation of all the men overplied with a multiplicity and variety of business, whom I have ever intimately known, to convince me of the imperfection of the most tenacious memory of man. But the imperfections of memory are very seldom inventive—unless in a mind altogether insane. They conflict in the *loss* of facts, and not in the fabrication of them. If Lowrie's assertion, that the President read to him and Findley Jackson's letter, be not true, he has falsified the fact. If the President read the letter, he has merely forgotten the fact. The error on one side is mere human infirmity; on the other, it would be wilful falsehood.

20th. Mr. Plumer was here, and we had a long conversation upon political topics generally. He showed me a letter from General Cocke, of Tennessee, to him, not signed, enquiring concerning conversations at the boarding-house at which they both lodged in 1821—concerning my opinions the year before upon the restriction of slavery in Missouri. Cocke intimates that he had understood Plumer to have said I was in favor of the restriction. And Plumer said he had a letter from Hill, the editor of the New Hampshire Patriot, now a thorough Crawfordite, saying he had formerly understood Plumer to

have told him that I was in favor of the restriction, and now it was published that I had been against it.

Plumer said he very indistinctly recollected both the conversations to which Cocke referred and anything that had passed between him and me on the subject.

The object of Cocke was to get an electioneering weapon against me for the Southern country, and that of Hill, to get one against me for the North, and also one against Plumer himself.

Plumer said Barton, one of the Missouri Senators, told him that Cocke had been all this session at him to get a certificate from him about those conversations, but that Barton, considering the whole controversy as past and gone by, had refused to give him any. He had written to Judge Archer, who had also been present at the boarding-house conversations, to enquire of his recollections concerning them; and he asked me for mine, of what my opinions had been. I told him that the only conversation I recollected to have had with him on the first Missouri question, that of the restriction, was on the 23d of February, 1820, and I read to him the account of it given at the time in my diary of that date.[1] He said he particularly recollected the distinction I had drawn between a restriction upon Illinois and one upon Missouri, and wished me to give him a copy of the extract from my diary—which I promised.

Both Houses of Congress have agreed to adjourn this day week, and Plumer still thinks the investigating committee will report in favor of Crawford upon Edwards's charges, avoiding all research into the attack of Crawford upon him.

Walter Forward, member of the House from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, came, he said, by the advice of some of my friends, to ask me what were my opinions upon the subject of the tariff and the protection of manufactures. He said it was a subject of great interest among his constituents, and he knew he should be enquired of by many of them concerning my opinions with reference to it.

I told him I had no desire either to obtrude or to withhold them. I was glad the Tariff bill had passed, though I had no other knowledge of its details than had been elicited in the

[1] Volume iv. pp. 529, 530.

debate, and had formed no decisive opinion upon them. I hoped its operation would be satisfactory to those whose interests it was particularly adapted to promote, without being oppressive upon the agricultural and commercial interests, as had been apprehended. I was cautioned to distrust Forward by my Pittsburgh correspondents two years ago. He attended the caucus last February, and voted there for Crawford. Since then my correspondents themselves have come out, held a public meeting, and nominated Crawford; and now Forward comes and asks me these questions. For what? N'importe.

I received a note from the President expressing great solicitude for the fate of the Convention before the Senate. I went over to his house, and he said he would send a message to the Senate concerning it.

I advised him to send with it a copy of the last note concerning it received from Mr. Addington—which he said he would; and he asked me to draw up and send him this evening such observations as I might think proper to introduce into the message. I met Mr. Mills, a Senator from Massachusetts, and asked him how the Convention stood in Senate. He said he thought it would be rejected, which he greatly regretted. I told him the President would send in a message upon it to-morrow. Mills said he wished to Heaven he would; for nothing else would save it.

I remained at home, writing observations for the President's message. Between ten and eleven I took them with me to the President's, but he was gone to bed. The doorkeeper told me he would be up about seven in the morning.

21st. I called this morning before seven at the President's, and left with him the copy of Mr. Addington's note and the observations I had written last evening, which I read to him. He was then preparing his message to the Senate. After breakfast I called upon Colonel Taylor, of Caroline, the Senator from Virginia, to tell him that the President would send a message this day, and to ask him, if the Convention should be called up in Senate before it arrived, to keep off the decision until it should come.

He said the President had been with him last evening and

told him of his intention to send a message; and while I was there a note came in from the President, repeating the notice that the message would go in this morning. In the observations I wrote last evening, it was stated that the projet of a Convention sent last summer to England was proposed to the British Government by order of the President with the *unanimous* advice of the members of the Administration. When I read it, the President observed that Mr. Crawford said it had not been communicated to him. I said it had not only been communicated to him, but that he had been present at the meeting of the Cabinet at which it was approved, and assented to it without hinting an objection. He had objected strongly to a part of my instruction to Mr. Rush, which accompanied the projet, as a misplaced declamation against the right of search, while in the projet of the Convention itself it was conceded; and in consequence of his objection a great part of my draft of the letter to Rush had been struck out. The President himself prepared a substitute for it, which was inserted in its stead.

He said he perfectly recollected it, but Mr. Crawford had told him yesterday that he had not been present at the meeting upon the draft of the Convention. He said he supposed Mr. Crawford's memory had been impaired by his disorder.

After returning home, I recurred to my diary of 19th and 20th June last, and found that the part of my argument against search which Mr. Crawford objected to was in the letter to S. Canning, of the same date with the instruction to Rush; that the President proposed it should be transferred from the letter to Canning to the instruction to Rush; but that I concluded to strike it out altogether, taking the President's substitute for it.

I mentioned this to Colonel Taylor, who had told me that the opposition to the Convention in the Senate was entirely a Presidential electioneering manœuvre. Van Buren and Holmes, of Maine, were its prime instigators, and almost all its supporters are dead-set Crawford men. His colleague, however, Governor Barbour, he said, had behaved with great magnanimity, and honestly supported the Convention. Speaking of Crawford's health, he said he had heard, from a source to which he

gave credit, that the answer to Mr. Edwards's address was written by George Tucker, the member of the House from Virginia. The style and temper of the paper, both very good, render this highly probable.

I called a second time at the President's, who had then finished the draft of his message to the Senate, which he read to me, and in which he had incorporated a part of the observations I had written last evening. He had omitted the references to the reports of committees of the House of Representatives in February, 1821, and in April, 1822, and the extracts from them; but on my observing to him that my object in introducing them was to place the Senate, in the event of their rejecting the Convention, in the most direct opposition possible to the House, he said he would send a note of the extracts with them to the Senate if I would have them made out. The President further determined, in case of the rejection of the Convention, to send a message to the House, communicating to them all the papers, and informing them of his determination to suspend all further negotiation with the powers of Europe and America upon the resolution of the House of 28th February, 1823. He told me also that Mr. Calhoun had been with him, and distinctly remembered that Mr. Crawford was present at the Cabinet meeting at which it was determined to propose to the British Government my projet of a Convention for the suppression of the slave-trade. The message to the Senate was sent in, and I was much occupied the rest of the day in preparing for that eventually to be sent to the House.

At the office, Mr. John Reed, a member from Massachusetts, came, and had a long conversation with me upon general politics. He spoke with regret of the recent publication of Mr. T. Pickering. I told him that as there had been provocation to Mr. Pickering in the publication of Cunningham's pamphlet, though contrary to my father's will, yet I could not censure Mr. Pickering for exhibiting his resentment to the world against him. I thought he had injudiciously attacked Mr. Jefferson, and unjustly renewed an old attack upon me. There was in his invective upon me only one thing deserving of notice, and that was a gross misrepresentation, equivalent to a wilful false-

hood. It was that of my having uttered a sentiment of servile subserviency to the Executive in the debate upon the embargo in December, 1807. I told Reed how the fact in that case had been, and he said he regretted not having known it some days since, when he had heard the same thing spoken of.

Mr. Branch, a Senator from North Carolina, came with Mr. Mann to take leave. They go together for North Carolina the day after to-morrow. Mr. Branch spoke of the Convention before the Senate, against which I found him very strongly prepossessed. He said he had been favorably inclined towards it at first, but that many objections had been raised against it, and the more they had been discussed, the more weight he had thought there was in the objections. I endeavored to convince him that his impressions were erroneous, and exposed largely to him the policy of the measure, the motives upon which the Convention had been founded, and the high importance of its ratification. I told him the President had determined to suspend all further negotiation upon the resolution of the House of Representatives of 28th February, 1823, in the event of the rejection of the Convention.

Mr. Branch appeared disposed to reconsider his aversion to the Convention, but gave me no assurance that he would vote for it.

22d. I went to the President's, upon the preparation of a message to the House of Representatives in case of the rejection of the Slave-Trade Convention by the Senate; and while there, two of the Florida Treaty Commissioners, Judge White and Mr. Tazewell, came in with a draft of a report, which they propose to make at the close of the Commission, which must be on the 8th of next month, and which they gave me to peruse and for any remarks that I might think proper to make upon it. They mentioned having received the copy of a note from Mr. Salmon, the Chargé d'Affaires of Spain, remonstrating against decisions which he supposes them to have made upon two points before them, but one of which, relating to interest upon the claims, they told me they had not decided. I left their report with the President, who told me he would read and return it to me on Monday.

The President spoke to me of the reception of Mr. Rebello as Chargé d'Affaires from Brazil, and said if he should postpone it till after the close of the session of Congress he apprehended it might be represented as if he had purposely deferred it, to assume the authority of recognizing without consulting Congress. I proposed to him, therefore, to receive Mr. Rebello next Tuesday; to which he agreed.

On returning to the office, I found Wyer there, and, as he saw me uneasy as to the decision of the Senate upon the Convention, he said he would see Colonel Taylor, the Senator from Virginia, as soon as he should come home, and let me know the result. He came in about seven in the evening, and told me that the Colonel had just got home, totally exhausted, and said that the Convention had been advised for ratification, but spoiled by some amendments and exceptions. I took a solitary walk of an hour, to allow Colonel Taylor time to dine, and then called upon him myself.

In my walk I met Alexander Hamilton, who told me that his report against his colleagues had been transferred from the Committee of Public Lands to the Judiciary Committee, and was now in the hands of Mr. Webster. He also told me that he had letters from New York mentioning that Governor Yates was there, and would certainly convoke the Legislature, to recommend the passage of an Act giving the choice of Presidential electors to the people.

Colonel Taylor gave me the particulars of the decision this day in the Senate upon the Convention. The limitation is, that either party may renounce the Convention with notice six months beforehand. The second article is stricken out; and the coast of "America" is excepted from the right of capture and search. He said that his colleague, Barbour, had made this day the best speech he had ever heard from him in support of the Convention, and had done entire justice to it. But all the other partisans of Mr. Crawford had made of it a bitter and rancorous party matter. Holmes had made a speech of two hours to the bare walls; and Van Buren, Dickerson, Gaillard, Chandler, S. Smith, Ruggles, Elliot, and Ware were all dead shot against the whole Convention. Others fluctuated,

for there were twenty members of the Senate who might be set down devoted to Mr. Crawford. He added that he should have some hopes of his colleague, but he had understood that his son was to marry Mr. Crawford's daughter. "And so you see," said he, "how this world goes." After the final vote upon the Convention, a motion was made for taking off the injunction of secrecy, which is left for decision on Monday.

23d. Mr. George Hay called this morning to enquire from the President concerning the decision of the Senate upon the Convention, the substance of which I told him; mentioning the modifications and exceptions which Colonel Taylor had spoken of as having been adopted. Mr. Hay, seeing this book on my table, and observing that he had seen it almost always on my table, enquired, jestingly, whether it was Bishop Burnet's History of his Own Times. I said perhaps it might be; at least I believed it to contain the most complete materials for the history of Mr. Monroe's Administration extant. And I added that I proposed to devote the leisure of my life hereafter to that design. But the conditions of my undertaking it were Life, Health, and Leisure; and upon the form I had not yet seriously reflected.

He said it was a pity that Mr. Monroe had not kept a diary—a very brief one, in comparison with mine, would have sufficed. But he now remembers nothing as to time and circumstance.

Mr. Hay spoke, as he always does, with extreme bitterness of Mr. Jefferson, whom he declares to be one of the most insincere men in the world. He reminded me of a letter written by Mr. Jefferson to Mr. Monroe in 1818–19, upon my controversial papers with Spain, and relating to the Seminole War. They were in a style even of extravagant encomium. Precisely at the same time, Hay says, Ritchie, of Richmond, told him that Mr. Jefferson had spoken of the same papers in terms of severe reprobation to a gentleman from whom he had it. Hay said he told Ritchie that that gentleman *lied;* but he knew better: the gentleman was Edward Coles, and he had told the truth. But Mr. Jefferson!—his enmity to Mr. Monroe was inveterate, though disguised, and he was at the bottom of all the opposition to Mr. Monroe in Virginia.

Mr. D. Brent came, to mention the issue in the Senate on the Convention; of which he had heard, and thought I was not informed. Mr. Rufus King came, and in a long conversation gave me all the particulars of the proceedings in the Senate; showed me the parts of the Convention which have been stricken out, and the yeas and nays upon every question that was taken. He said that in the management of the opposition there had been great disingenuousness and rancor, and it had been clearly and plainly disclosed to the observation of every one that the main object of it was an electioneering engine against me. He said that after making the crime piracy, and inviting all others to do the same, to cavil at the right of searching for the pirates was an absurdity; and, without meaning to compliment me, he would say he thought the abuses to which the exercise of the right were liable had been guarded against with the utmost care in the Convention. He knew not how they could have been better guarded. The message of the President had been very properly sent in; but all that it contained had already been said in the Senate before it came in. He did not know whether now the Convention would be worth accepting, or would be accepted, by Great Britain.

I told him I thought it would. The essential bases of the Convention were untouched. The three great principles—that the trade shall be piracy, the mutual right of search and capture, and the trial of the captured party by his own country—are secured. The two articles eliminated were no part of our project. The exception of the coast of America from the searchable seas has operation only with regard to the coast of Brazil; and may hereafter be removed, so far as may be necessary, by further negotiation.

The only material injury done to the Convention is the reservation of the power in either party to renounce it with six months' notice—a power leaving an important question, what authority in the organization of *our* Government is competent to give that notice? I presume it must be by authority of an Act of Congress.

Upon the subject of New York politics, Mr. King said it was certain that the Governor, Yates, would call the Legisla-

ture together and propose to them the passage of a law to give the choice of Presidential electors to the people; and no doubt that the law would pass. What the result would be it was impossible to foretell. He told me also an extraordinary story about the purchase of a newspaper lately set up in New York, called the National Union, a Clintonian paper, which first announced itself as favoring General Jackson and lamenting that there was an overwhelming majority of the people of New York for me, but now had come out for Crawford as President, and De Witt Clinton as Governor of the State. And he told me some of Mr. Van Buren's negotiations to disencumber himself from the ownership of the Albany Argus.

The British Chargé d'Affaires, Addington, called likewise, to speak upon the subject of the Convention. He had been informed of the manner in which it passed, and said he hoped it would be accepted as it has been ratified here. He said it had been explained by him in letters already dispatched to his Government. He understood the opposition to have arisen purely from party spirit and to be in a great measure occasional. He asked me if I could let him have confidentially a copy of the President's last message to the Senate urging the ratification of the Convention to send to his Government. It would undoubtedly have the effect of reconciling them to the modifications annexed to the ratification here.

I said I would propose it to the President, and thought he would probably not object. But, as there was a motion pending before the Senate for taking off the injunction of secrecy from all their proceedings on the subject, the message would perhaps in that manner be made public.

I met Daniel P. Cook, who walked home with me, came in, and sat an hour, conversing chiefly upon the affair of Mr. Edwards and Mr. Crawford. He is under deep anxiety with regard to the report of the committee, which he is apprehensive will not only substantially justify Mr. Crawford, but in a most insidious manner indirectly take side against Edwards. From the conversations of Webster with Plumer, I am apprehensive there is much ground for the expectation. The disclosures of character made by Webster in this affair have been

strongly marked, and prove that William King is not the only man entrusted with the secret that Webster is to have an office of high distinction in the event of Crawford's election as President. His address in getting himself appointed a member of this committee, which he did by suggesting the reference in the House without moving it, and the cunning of Forsyth, who at that time complained of his appointment as of a person unfriendly to Mr. Crawford; the high pretensions of impartiality with which Webster began the investigation, and his volunteer promise to Cook that he would pursue the enquiry judicially; his consultation with Rufus King as to the principles upon which the investigation was to be managed, and through him with Jeremiah Mason and Richard Stockton; with his late underhanded attempts to prevail upon me to exercise influence over the editors of newspapers friendly to me, that they may sustain the report of the committee to sacrifice the character and reputation of Edwards to glut the revenge of Mr. Crawford; present altogether a combination of talent, of ambition, of political management, and of heartless injustice which have thrown open to my inspection Mr. Webster's inmost character. He evidently considers the report of the committee as depending alone upon him; and so do the public. I have no doubt that in a great measure it really does; but I have great confidence in J. W. Taylor.

24th. James Barbour, a Senator from Virginia, and Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations of the Senate, came, and spoke of the proceedings of the Senate upon the Convention, and of the motion made by him for removing the injunction of secrecy from all the proceedings.

I observed to him that it was desirable the injunction should be removed by the Senate with regard to their own proceedings; but some question would remain whether they could publish the confidential communications of the President to them.

Mr. Barbour said he had seen the President, who was willing and desirous that all his communications to the Senate should be published.

Mr. James Lloyd, Senator from Massachusetts, who came in while I was in this conversation with Barbour, said that the

proceedings of the Senate on the Convention, if published alone, without the documents from the President, would be unintelligible, the yeas and nays always having reference to the Convention communicated.

Mr. Barbour concluded to press for the publication of the whole.

Hayden, of New York, and McDuffie, of South Carolina, members of the House, came to take leave. McDuffie, having reference to the Presidential election, said he was returning to Carolina, and, as there might be in the Legislature of that State a contested support of Mr. Crawford and of me, he should be glad, if I had no objection to stating them, to know my sentiments upon the tariff policy. I told them freely. That it was one of those subjects in which great opposing interests were to be conciliated by a spirit of mutual accommodation and concession. I was satisfied with the Tariff bill as it has passed, because it appeared to me to have been elaborated precisely to that point. I thought I had seen in it an admirable illustration of the practical operation of our national Government. The two parties had contested every inch of the ground between them, with great ardor and ability, and the details of the bill had finally brought them to questions decided by the casting vote of the presiding officer in each House, and an adjustment by conference between the two Houses. With the result it was reasonable to expect that both parties would be satisfied.

McDuffie appeared to be well satisfied with it himself, and he said that the final vote upon it in the House gave a majority of fifty votes in its favor.

I told him that there was another subject upon which my opinions had been greatly misrepresented in the Southern country, with a view to excite local prejudices against me. It was upon the slave question generally, and the Missouri restriction particularly. My opinion had been against the proposed restriction in Missouri, as contravening both the Constitution and the Louisiana Treaty. This was the first Missouri question. The second was upon an article introduced into the Constitution of the State of Missouri, which I thought contrary to the Constitution of the United States. I then stated

explicitly what my opinions had been upon both questions, and noticed the artifice of the misrepresentation, which, from my opposition to the article in the Missouri Constitution, inferred my having favored the restriction. I added that the article of the Missouri Constitution required the Legislature of that State to do precisely what the Legislature of his own State of South Carolina had since done; and which Judge William Johnson, a native and citizen of the State itself, had pronounced to be contrary to the Constitution of the United States.

McDuffie said he had no doubt it was so, and was very glad I had given him this explanation.

I called at the President's, and spoke of the Brazilian Chargé d'Affaires, whom he had determined to receive to-morrow. I advised that we should first ascertain whether the Brazilian Government considered itself bound by the treaties of Portugal with Great Britain for the suppression of the slave-trade, and whether the Emperor was disposed to suppress the trade itself. To this the President agreed; and on returning to the office I sent for Rebello, who immediately came. He said the Emperor had declared by a proclamation, set forth in the succinct narrative furnished me by Rebello himself, that he considered himself bound by all the treaties of Portugal previously concluded; and added that he would send me an extract from his instructions, in which the Emperor's disposition for the total abolition of the traffic was pronounced in the most decisive manner. I asked him what number of slaves had been introduced into Brazil in the course of the last year. He said, from seven to eight thousand. What was the proportion of black and colored people in Brazil to the whites? Four or five to one. Under what flag was the trade now carried on to Brazil? He said it was in vessels which bore the Portuguese flag at the settlements in Africa where they procured the slaves, and whence they departed, but took the Brazilian flag upon arriving in the ports of Brazil. He said also that the importations were now confined to such as are shipped from places more than five degrees south of the equator, where existing establishments embracing large masses of property would require time to admit of their being totally broken up. He afterwards sent me a note including the

extract from his instructions and a reference to the Emperor's proclamation, which he had mentioned.

David Trimble, member of the House from Kentucky, came and took leave. He spoke of his earnestness in support of the election of Mr. Clay to the Presidency, and said he hoped there was less of personal animosity between him and me than there had been heretofore. I told him there never had been on my part any animosity other than that which Mr. Clay had chosen to raise. Trimble said he did not wish to enter upon this subject, and, after some other remarks, said all he could tell me was, that of the candidates before the public for the Presidency, Mr. Clay would be his first choice, but I should not be his last. He meant I should take this as a proof of his friendly disposition to me.

Mr. Crawford was taken ill again on Saturday night, and keeps his bed.

25th. I called at the President's, and reported to him the result of my conference yesterday with Mr. Rebello, and he determined to receive him as Chargé d'Affaires from the Emperor of Brazil at one o'clock to-morrow. Plumer spoke to me of the report of the Committee of Investigation in the case of Mr. Edwards and Mr. Crawford, which was this day made to the House. It admits all the facts charged by Edwards, but acquits Mr. Crawford of all evil intention, explicitly states that the charge of having mismanaged the finances is not supported by the evidence, and exhibits from beginning to end a prevailing bias in his favor. It abstains, however, from expressing an opinion *against* Mr. Edwards—which is more than I expected. Plumer says it has been remarked that for several days past Webster has been in continual close private conferences with Forsyth, Cuthbert, and Cobb, Crawford's most intimate friends and supporters; and he said to Plumer yesterday, with some temper, that he considered Edwards as having made a *base* attack upon Crawford. Plumer added further that Burton, of North Carolina, had spoken to him and expressed great solicitude that my friends should not, in this affair, take part against Crawford. Burton observed that Mr. Crawford's friends were beginning to consider the state of his health as desperate, and

that it would be necessary for them to fix upon another candidate. They were very averse to General Jackson, but most emphatically so to Mr. Calhoun; and Burton was very anxious that I should keep upon good terms with them.

Mr. Addington came to enquire at what time I should probably be ready to dispatch the ratified Convention. I said that it would be impossible for me to prepare the dispatches which must go with it to Mr. Rush until after the close of the session of Congress. The proceedings in the Senate would, in the mean time, be published, with the last message of the President, copies of which I wished to communicate to Mr. Rush, to show the earnestness and sincerity of the Executive in pressing the ratification. Addington said he should give the fullest explanations of the causes from which the opposition here in the Senate had arisen, and state explicitly that unless the present Convention should be ratified there was no prospect that anything could be done. He fully believed that the last message to the Senate was the only thing that had saved the Convention, and before it was sent in he had nearly abandoned all hope of the ratification.

26th. I called upon Colonel Taylor, the Senator from Virginia, and mentioned to him the paragraph in the National Intelligencer of this morning, stating that by a rule of the Senate no extracts from their Executive journal could be taken; and that the removal of the injunction of secrecy was only with respect to the facts, and not to the documents.

Taylor said it must be a trick to evade the publication; but that was not the intention of the Senate, and he would see to have it rectified. Colonel Taylor told me he should leave the city, to return home, to-morrow. He spoke, therefore, freely upon the Presidential election. The Legislature of Virginia, he said, had been *managed* into a declaration in support of Mr. Crawford as the caucus candidate; and the State would support him if he continued on the list of candidates. But he was again ill: rumors were afloat that he had suffered a paralytic affection of the tongue, and since Sunday had been quite or nearly speechless. It was doubtful whether he would recover, at least so as to be sustainable for a Presidential candidate.

The State of Virginia would be compelled to look elsewhere, and he felt perfectly sure that neither Mr. Clay nor General Jackson could obtain the vote of the State. The Richmond junto would attempt to bring up Clay; but they could not succeed, and if the choice should come to the House of Representatives, I might take it for a certainty that the vote of the Virginia delegation would be neither for Jackson nor Clay. He thought everything depended upon the State of New York, and had not a doubt that Virginia would declare for me if New York should do so.

That event, however, is now less probable than it was three months since. I told Colonel Taylor what I knew of the state of the question in every part of the Union—prospects everywhere, nothing to be relied upon anywhere.

W. Plumer came and took leave. He is to go to-morrow, immediately after the adjournment of the House. He told me that he had conversed with Mercer on the Slave-Trade Convention; that Mercer had read to him a very long letter that he had written to Stratford Canning, to urge the ratification of the Convention in England, as it has been ratified here. The argument of the letter was, that I had heretofore been opposed to the concession of the right of search, and opposed to making the slave-trade piracy by law; that the opposition to the Convention now was a personal opposition to me, connected with the Presidential question; that my interest is now altogether engaged in support of the Convention, and if it should not be ratified there is no prospect that any concert between the two countries for this purpose can be established.

A note from the President this morning had called a meeting of the members of the Administration at eleven. I found Asbury Dickins, the Clerk of the Treasury, there. He said Mr. Crawford had been gradually growing better since Sunday, but kept his bed, and was not in a condition to transact business. He withdrew. Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Southard attended the meeting, which was to determine how the naval force in commission should be employed for the ensuing season. The Franklin, seventy-four, is expected to arrive from the Pacific in July, and it is not proposed to send another line-of-battle ship, for the present, into those seas.

I advised that the squadron in the Mediterranean should be reinforced, and a seventy-four sent thither. The existing war between Great Britain and Algiers, as well as that between the Turks and Greeks, gives peculiar interest to that quarter at this time; and Shaler has written requesting, with great urgency, that the squadron may communicate freely with him at Algiers.

Mr. Southard expressed the wish that Captain Rodgers, now the presiding member of the Navy Commissioners, may be induced to go out as commander of the squadron—the Columbus or the North Carolina to be the flagship, Rodgers preferring the former, built here under his direction, but having the reputation of a dull sailer, and Calhoun recommending the North Carolina, to show variety of force in the Mediterranean, where the Columbus has already once been.

I brought into discussion whether the proposed interview between Rodgers and the Capitan Pasha should be authorized. The disposition towards it was unanimous, but I desired it might not be decided upon without further and full deliberation. Whether English should be allowed to go, in the event of the project's being carried into effect, is further to be considered. It is not certain that Rodgers will be willing to go. There are difficulties of economical and domestic arrangement—deficiency of pay, and some question of the additional expense which a meeting with the Capitan Pasha may render necessary. All this is to be kept profoundly secret. The ship cannot be ready in less than three months; and in the mean time the Constitution frigate may be sent out sooner.

Before the Cabinet meeting broke up, J. H. Eaton, of the Senate, and S. A. Foot, of the House, the Committee of Enrolled Bills, came in with several for the President's signature. He said he would go up this evening to the Capitol.

At one o'clock I presented M. José Silvestre Rebello to the President as Chargé d'Affaires from the Emperor of Brazil. He made a short address in English, which he speaks indifferently, and which the President answered with kindness, as usual. The friendship and harmony between the two countries formed the theme of these discourses, and Mr. Rebello promised grateful recollection that the Government of the United

States has been the first to acknowledge the independence of Brazil. He glanced also at the concert of American powers to sustain the general system of American independence.

To this the President did not particularly allude in his answer, but confined himself to general expressions of interest for the Brazilian nation, and our friendly intercourse with them.

After dinner, I walked up to the Capitol. The two Houses met at eight in the evening. The President, Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Southard, Mr. D. Brent, and Dr. Everett were there. I learned that the Senate had rejected the nomination of Benjamin Ames as Marshal for the District of Maine, and would probably reject that of Joseph T. Wingate as Collector of the port of Bath. The President then, at my request, nominated Benjamin Greene as Marshal, and I went into the House to consult the members of the delegation for a nomination of Collector at Bath. They all joined in recommending E. Herrick, and I sent his name by Dr. Everett to the President. But he sent me back word that he could not nominate any member of Congress. I asked Cushman and Burleigh to see if they and the other members from the State in the House could agree upon a person to recommend—but they could not. They said they would see if they could before morning. The House was in that chaotic state which always happens at the last hours of a session: no quorum; about one hundred members present, coming and going, walking about the House, and taking leave of one another; some going off this night; others, directly from the House to-morrow morning. Many of them came up to me and took leave.

I returned to the President's chamber, and found him in the examination of bills for signature. They were all read through, and both Houses having, about ten o'clock, adjourned till eight to-morrow morning, the President requested us to meet him here again at that time. He took me home in his carriage. The House of Representatives this day passed a resolution authorizing the Committee of Investigation to sit after the close of the session, to take the examination of Mr. Edwards and to make up and publish their final report.

27th. Close of the first session of the Eighteenth Congress.

Meeting B. W. Crowninshield this morning at my door, we walked together to the Capitol. The President was there, and both Houses were in session. As we were walking, Crowninshield told me many things that have recently occurred: some views of Poinsett's, who says he holds the casting vote of South Carolina in the House, and who wishes to disarm opposition against himself at Charleston, which he represents; a conversation with John Floyd respecting me, in which Floyd said to him (Crowninshield) that his opinions were lately much changed, and he did not know but he should finally go with him. But this was closely confidential.

On going into the House, I found a remnant of agitation upon a letter from John Randolph of Roanoke to his constituents, published in the Richmond Enquirer which came this morning. He was a member of the Committee of Investigation, but went away, embarked last week at New York for England, and wrote this letter at sea and sent it back by the pilot. It is a gross and furious attack upon Edwards, upon the President, and upon the majority of the Committee of Investigation. Webster, Livingston, J. W. Taylor, McArthur, and even Floyd, flatly denied the truth of his statement respecting the majority of the committee. Owen, the other member of the committee, is gone.

Mr. Bell, of New Hampshire, came to me and enquired for whom I thought it would be advisable to give the vote for Vice-President. I told him the sentiment of my friends appeared to favor General Jackson, and it was entirely agreeable to me. We were interrupted in this conversation, and, the Senate returning to the consideration of Executive business, I withdrew. About ten, the usual committee of two members from each House—Macon and , of the Senate, Taylor of New York and Foot of Connecticut, of the House—came and announced to the President that they were ready to adjourn if he had nothing further to communicate. There were only two or three nominations for the Senate to act upon in Executive business, and about half-past ten both Houses adjourned. There was no quorum in the House this morning, so that the motion to fill up the Committee of Investigation by

the appointment of two members in the place of John Randolph and of Owen did not pass.

Before leaving the Capitol, the President in close confidence told Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Southard, and me that a friend of his had informed him confidentially, and that he might be prepared to act upon such an event, that Mr. Webster had assured him that unless Mr. Edwards upon his examination should furnish more satisfactory grounds for his inculpation of Mr. Crawford, the final report of the committee would be decisive against him; and the President strongly intimated that he would in that case remove Edwards. I expressed a doubt whether the committee would thus decide; Calhoun said it was impossible. With the exception of the indefinite charge of having mismanaged the finances, they had found all the facts as charged by Edwards. They had made at least two glaring misstatements to operate against him, and had credited Mr. Crawford for all the bad money that he had passed off upon public creditors as if he had never received it. I asked the President who it was that had given him this hint, but he declined telling. He took me home in his carriage.

With Mercer I had a long conversation upon the Slave-Trade Convention, and the proceedings of the Senate upon it. He said that when the National Intelligencer announced that no copy of those proceedings could be obtained, he himself had gone to the presiding officer and insisted upon having copies, and had obtained them, and they would be published in the Intelligencer.

I had observed to Mercer that after what had taken place in the Senate upon this Convention, and the subsequent effort, obviously intended to follow it up, to make it unpopular, the power of the President to negotiate further under the resolution of the House would be much checked until there should be some further manifestation of opinion by Congress in its favor.

He now expressed to me some doubt whether this could be done at the next session of Congress. He said it was apparent and known to every one that the opposition now started against the Convention was merely personal, pointed against

me with reference to the Presidential election, and but for that would not have existed; that it was barely temporary and occasional; but that probably the excitement from which it arose would be at its height at the next session of Congress, and that then would be a moment peculiarly unfavorable for a calm discussion of the subject in the House.

I told him I had no doubt it would be so at the beginning of the session, but that my project was this. If the British government should ratify the Convention as modified, the President will of course notice it in his annual message at the commencement of the session, and it will be among the documents communicated with the message. That part of the message will, in the ordinary course of business, be referred to a select committee, which may take the whole subject under consideration, including what is further to be done. They may keep it before them until the Presidential election shall have been decided, after which there will be no motive for persisting in the factious opposition to the principles of the Convention, which has now so suddenly and unexpectedly gotten up to benefit Mr. Crawford by fastening odium upon me. But Mr. Crawford had favored the concession of the right of search even while I resisted it, and without the preliminary condition of making the slave-trade piracy. He had encouraged Mr. Canning in pressing for its concession. The project of Convention, which I sent to Mr. Rush, had been submitted to his inspection; he had been present at the Cabinet meeting when it was determined to propose it, and fully assented to that measure—though he now denied that fact.

Mercer asked me upon what authority I made that statement.

I said, from the lips of the President.

Mercer appeared surprised, and said that he had mentioned to the President that he had heard this stated concerning Crawford, but the President, instead of confirming it, had spoken as if he doubted it. He said he wondered why the President should have used this reserve with him while consulting him confidentially on the subject, and after having had frequent communications with him upon subjects of a still more confidential nature. He had always considered me as

opposed to his views in relation to the suppression of the slave-trade, and Mr. Crawford as favoring them; that I thought the Colonization Society wild and visionary in their plans, while Mr. Crawford was one of their Vice-Presidents, and last summer had spent a day in presiding at one of their meetings. He further said that while Baron Hyde de Neuville was here he had proposed a Convention between the United States and France for the suppression of the slave-trade, granting a mutual right of search and capture, and stipulating to send on board of every cruiser against the slave-traders a joint commission of judges to try the persons captured of either nation; that the President authorized him (Mercer) to make such a Convention with De Neuville, but afterwards withdrew the authority. Mercer spoke also of Alexander Smyth's attacks upon me as being a favorer of the slave-trade; of his handbill detailing their private conversations and mine with Mercer, and of his own relations with Crawford, which, he said, had not been intimate. He approved the idea of acting in Congress upon the slave-trade at the next session, after the decision upon the Presidential election; and, on his parting from me, I assured him I should be happy to co-operate with him in the further support of the cause—at which he expressed his satisfaction.

Addington was anxious to dispatch his packet with the ratified Convention, and I promised to be ready for him on Monday next.

Mr. Seymour, Senator from Vermont, Livingston, of Louisiana, Hobart and Crowninshield, of Massachusetts, and Ellis, of Pennsylvania, came and took leave. John W. Taylor, a member of the Committee of Investigation, who remains to attend the further meetings of that committee, also called, and sat with me until the close of the evening. With Seymour, Crowninshield, and Taylor I had particular conversations—with the two former concerning the Presidential election, with the latter relative to the proceedings of the committee. Seymour, on his way home, will stop some time in the State of New York. His main anxiety is to make friends by giving assurances of a *Republican* Administration; Crowninshield's, to give at home correct views of facts.

Taylor told me the substance of what had passed in committee. They have adjourned to the 7th of June, to give time to Mr. Edwards to arrive and prepare for his examination. In the mean time, Mr. Edward Livingston is going to New York, and Mr. Webster to Philadelphia. Floyd moved that if Edwards should not arrive by the 7th of June the committee should adjourn without day; but this was not agreed to. Cuthbert and Forsyth addressed a note to the committee, requesting that Mr. Noble, Senator from Indiana, and two or three other persons, should be summoned to attend as witnesses to discredit Edwards. Taylor gave me many details of proceedings in the committee, manifesting the timid, insidious, and treacherous partiality of Webster, to which Livingston assents. He mentioned to me several passages in the report in which he had obtained alterations, from the most marked partiality in Crawford's favor, to equal justice. He said it was not difficult to meet the open and undisguised prejudices of Floyd, but it was hard to manage those which came in insidious forms from elsewhere.

28th. My visitors this day at my house were a Mr. Crawson, D. P. Cook, R. Little, H. Clay, the Speaker, and J. R. Poinsett, of South Carolina, to take leave. At the office, John L. Sullivan, with Professor Silliman, and Messrs. Wadsworth and Terry, and E. Wyer. In the course of the morning I called at the President's.

Cook had not heard from N. Edwards; but Dunn, the messenger from the House sent to summon him, returned here this evening, having left Edwards at Washington, Pennsylvania, two hundred and thirty miles from hence, to come on by the next stage. Cook is in great anxiety, knowing that the majority of the committee remaining here are against Edwards, and aware of the prejudice against him in the public mind. He regretted greatly the absence of Owen, upon whose integrity and firmness he relied.

Clay said little upon public affairs; spoke with apparent coolness of the affair of Edwards and Crawford, and complained of having had, within these few days, a return of his dyspepsia.

Poinsett is going to New York, thence to Charleston, South Carolina, and proposes, between this and the next session of

Congress, to make a voyage to Europe. He said he was willing to go to Naples, and see if anything could be done there with certain claims which had been the object of Mr. William Pinkney's unsuccessful mission there. Poinsett said he would undertake nothing which would disqualify him for his seat in Congress, and of course should receive no compensation for what he might do. But if a frigate was going out to the Mediterranean, he would be glad to take passage in her, and to be the medium of any communication that the Government might wish to make at Naples. He said he had spoken of it this morning with the President, who had told him he would confer concerning it with me.

I asked Poinsett whether, if he should go, he could not extend his trip further, and give us some account of the condition of the Greeks. He said it would give him great satisfaction if he could, but he was afraid there would not be time. He was told the frigate would be ready to sail in three weeks, and in that case she might, without going out of her way, touch and take him up at Charleston. But he knew what three weeks meant in the fitting out of a ship of war, and he believed he could go to Charleston and return to New York before she would be ready.

I spoke of this to the President, who appeared to be desirous that Poinsett should go as he proposed, and that, if possible, he should extend his excursion to Greece.

29th. Southard told me he was going upon business next week to Norfolk. He said, too, that Van Buren and Dickerson were gone to Richmond, whence they were to proceed on visits to Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison, and there was much speculation as to the object of their journey.

I said I had little doubt it was to prepare and concert the movement of Mr. Crawford's partisans in the event of his being withdrawn or declining as a candidate for the Presidential election, and my belief was they meant to take up Mr. Clay for their substituted candidate.

Southard said Clay had expectations of that sort himself, and had also been much elated by three meetings lately gotten up in his favor in New Jersey, about which he had yesterday

asked him several questions. The truth was that if those meetings had been convened by those whom he suspected, there was nothing that would so effectually secure against him the vote of New Jersey, unless it was his being supported by Mr. Dickerson.

I told him that my main reason for believing that Clay was the man they intended to push for was the profligate opposition they had got up and pressed in Senate against the Convention for the suppression of the slave-trade, the only object of which was to use it as a weapon to raise a popular clamor against me. This they would have avoided under the high probability of Crawford's withdrawing from the field, if they had not determined, at all events, to keep me out. This, I observed, was Mr. Van Buren's course, although he was under some personal obligation to me. I then told him in close confidence of the transactions and correspondence which preceded the appointment of Smith Thompson as a Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States last summer, and the distant and disguised grasping of Van Buren, both at that office and at a mission abroad, of all which he had before known nothing. I asked him whether he knew who it was that had communicated Webster's secret notification to the President, that if Edwards should produce no new proof of his charges the committee would pronounce against him a sentence of severe reprobation.

He said, no, but he suspected it was Poinsett.

I said that, as it had struck my mind, there was a baseness in it that had revolted me beyond measure. Its object, apparently, was to urge the President to remove Edwards, and at the same time to reserve a retreat into impartiality if the President should not prove sufficiently pliable. It seemed to me as if the Judges of the Supreme Court having before them a man upon trial for life and death should send a secret message to the President saying, If you will execute this man we will condemn him.

Southard said the illustration was a strong one, but he thought it correct.

I said this was not the only underhand artifice of Webster's

to operate upon the public mind against Edwards, and if the whole committee should be swayed in this manner, and the President should yield to it, as he seemed to be disposed, I expected he would call upon the members of his Administration for their opinions on the question whether he should remove Edwards; and if he should thus call upon me, I would expose the whole of this vile intrigue to the nation. But as the President had withheld the name of the person through whom Webster had thus felt his pulse, there was evidently some reserve yet upon this affair, and I should not press for the information.

Southard said the President was so harassed that he scarcely knew where to set his foot. But if Poinsett was still here, he would ask him whether he was the person who had made the communication from Webster, and he had no doubt he would tell him; and he would see me again to-morrow.

I called at the President's for my draft of a dispatch to R. Rush, to go with the ratified Convention. He read and approved it. He also spoke of N. Edwards, and of the expectation of his arrival here on Monday.

I asked him if he had understood that the communication made to him of Mr. Webster's statement, that the committee would severely censure Edwards if he should produce no further evidence in support of his charges against Mr. Crawford, was intended by Mr. Webster to be made.

He said, no; it was merely a notice given him by a friend, that he might be prepared for such a result.

30th. Mr. Southard was at church, and, on coming out, told me that he had found Mr. Poinsett was gone, and he had not had an opportunity of conversing with the President since he had seen me yesterday. Seaton, the junior editor of the National Intelligencer, spoke to me of the publication in that paper of the documents relating to the Convention for the suppression of the slave-trade. They were published on Friday and yesterday—but incomplete and garbled. The two extracts from the reports of Committees of the House of Representatives in 1821 and in 1822, annexed to the President's message to the Senate of the 21st instant, were suppressed, on the pretence of a want of room for them, while nearly a whole column of

counter-argument against the Convention was introduced as editorial, but written by John Holmes, the Senator from Maine, the same who had before attempted to prevent the publication of the proceedings of the Senate upon the Convention at all. And at the same time, while the Intelligencer of the morning published the documents thus mutilated, the Washington Gazette of the evening charged the suppression of the omitted papers to me, as if they had been withheld from the Senate to screen me from the public indignation.

I gave notice to the President of the manner in which the publication had been made in the Intelligencer, and I asked Mr. Brent to speak to Seaton about it—to tell him that I should cause a publication of the documents to be made in the National Journal, extra, with notice that that in the Intelligencer was incomplete. And I requested him to speak to Force, to have the documents accurately published.

Seaton apologized to me to-day for the defectiveness of the publications. He said they had published the proceedings of the Senate as he had received them from Mr. Mercer, and had omitted the extracts from the two reports of Committees of the House supposing them not to be material, and because they had been published before (meaning when the reports were made).

I observed to him the effect upon the view of the subject exhibited to the public, of the omission of the extracts, and of the insertion of the editorial article of argument against the right of search.

He said that article was written by a member of the Senate, and was published just as he had given it. He told D. Brent yesterday that this Senator was J. Holmes, of Maine.

31st. Mr. Addington came to enquire if I was ready to dispatch the ratified Convention. I had inclined to have sent it by a special messenger, and last week had asked Addington if he could have a passage in the packet, to which he had immediately assented. But the moment a suspicion of a special messenger got wind, I was beset with conflicting applications for it, so that I could not have gratified one applicant without mortifying others; and the fund is so scanty from which the expense of a special messenger must have been paid, that I

concluded to save it, and to send the Convention by Mr. Addington's messenger. I read to him the whole of my instruction to R. Rush, to go with the ratified Convention, with which he appeared to be entirely satisfied; and I had the Convention with the instruction packed in a small trunk, addressed to Mr. Rush, sealed up, and delivered, with the key of the trunk, to Mr. Addington this evening.

D. P. Cook came, and told me that he expected the arrival of Mr. Edwards this evening. Cook said he thought Edwards ought to resign his appointment as Minister to Mexico and devote himself to the complete development of this affair. And, as he could probably expect no justice from this committee, he would determine whether on that avowed ground to decline pursuing the subject before them, and make a direct appeal to Congress or to the nation, or, after protesting against those members of the committee who had prejudged the case and taken side against him, to proceed in the investigation.

I agreed with him that the best course for Mr. Edwards to take was to resign his office; but I thought he should not decline the investigation so far as it personally concerned himself. I remarked that in the present state of Mr. Crawford's health it would be, I thought, at once wise and generous in Mr. Edwards if he would offer to take the report of the committee, so far as it went, to acquit or excuse Mr. Crawford, as final and conclusive, and to disclaim the intention of pressing farther any investigation of his official conduct.

Wyer called at the office, and spoke of the state of Mr. Crawford's health, which is a problem.

Mr. Ironside brought me an Act of Congress which in the hurry of the last day of the session, and among the forty or fifty Acts then brought to the President for his examination and signature, by some accident missed of being signed by him. The question is, whether it can be signed by him now. It is an Act concerning wreckers on the coast of Florida. I desired Mr. Brent to ascertain whether it had been announced to the House in which the bill originated that it had been signed.

Day. Rise between six and seven. Breakfast between nine and ten. With this interval, I write and receive visitors till

between one and two. Then at the office and the President's till between five and six. Home to dine. Walk after dinner. Write or receive visitors till near midnight. This is the very regular course of my occupations. My time is chiefly worn out with visitors, of whom the number personally received in the course of the month has been two hundred and sixty-four. I never exclude any one. But necessary and important business suffers by the unavoidable waste of time. To keep pace in this diary with the course of events, in the minuteness that I have done for the present month, is impossible.

June 1st. Mr. Hay, to tell me of what he called the second Lowriad—a paper written by him, and published in the Washington Republican of this evening, to prove that the President never read any letter of General Jackson either to Lowrie, or to Jonathan Roberts, or to A. Lacock.

Wirt, who has just returned from Baltimore, came to talk with me about Mr. Edwards and the President's extreme anxieties relating to him. He said that Edwards ought to resign; that the President, Mr. Calhoun, and Mr. Southard were all of that opinion, and that he (Wirt) was decidedly so. I told him that had been my opinion from the beginning; that Mr. Cook had yesterday told me it was his, and I had unequivocally expressed to him that it was mine—of which I had no doubt that he had informed Mr. Edwards.

Wirt said he had a great regard and friendship for Edwards, and regretted to find, as he had seen at Baltimore, that the opinion of all parties was against him. I said it was so everywhere, and far more so than he deserved, because the real merits of the principal question between him and Mr. Crawford were not considered by the public. In their controversies, Mr. Crawford was the first aggressor, as far back as the appointment of Jesse B. Thomas, Edwards's rival and competitor in Illinois, to examine the land offices and banks in that and the neighboring States. That was undoubtedly a movement in concert with Thomas for purposes hostile to Edwards. From that time they have been in adverse positions, and with mutual recriminations, till Crawford's ambiguous imputation of perjury to Edwards, in the report to the House of 22d March last.

This was a charge at once insidious and cruel. Edwards was bound to meet and repel it. But, as he had not left the city when it was made, he should have stopped and met it here. By leaving the city and sending back his address from Wheeling, by blending with it charges of official malfeasance against Crawford, and by avowing himself the author of the anonymous A. B. publications of the last year, he has placed himself in the position of a public accuser, under circumstances most unfavorable to himself. For although he has proved almost every fact that he had alleged, yet Crawford's defence takes off all the edge of evil intentions, and the public are not only indulgent to all the errors and inadvertencies proved upon him, but ascribe malicious and corrupt motives to Edwards for bringing forward the charges. This is essentially unjust; but such is the public prepossession, and Edwards may fall a victim to it. The bias already taken by the committee bears heavily upon him, and the movements of Webster against him are of the most fatal import.

Wirt said that he himself had known comparatively nothing of the case, as I had now unfolded it to him.

I said that in the political consequences of this affair I had so much of an indirect interest myself that I distrusted my own judgment concerning it. I was very apprehensive that the President might require a formal opinion from the members of his Administration upon the question whether he should remove Edwards from the mission to Mexico. If he did, I should in the first instance request him, in consideration of the peculiarity of my situation, to excuse me from giving an opinion. But if he should then require it, I would give it.

I had much conversation with J. W. Taylor concerning the movements in New York and the Investigating Committee. He thinks that the resumption of General Jackson as the candidate of Mr. Clinton and his party will give the vote of the State with certainty to Mr. Crawford. He also supposes that the committee will confine their investigation entirely to the official conduct of the Secretary of the Treasury. He mentioned a publication made by Edwards at Louisville on his way to this place, and it was republished in the Washing-

ton Republican of this evening; and with it the letter from Stephenson, the Receiver of public moneys, and President of the bank of Edwardsville, which none of the officers in the Treasury had any recollection of having been received, and which the report of the committee argues to have been probably never written. This statement of the committee has a very harsh aspect against Edwards, who had testified that the letter was written in his presence.

Taylor said that this was a mere incorrectness of expression in the report, which would be explained.

I told him I thought it hardly right in the committee to have reported at all, after sending for Edwards, and before he could arrive here.

He said it would have been impossible to have satisfied the House of Representatives without making some report before they adjourned; but I thought the committee should have been inflexible upon that point. He told me that Mr. Edwards was ill, and had been this day confined to his bed.

2d. John W. Taylor came in the evening, and I told him I had apprehended I had spoken to him yesterday freely respecting the proceedings of the committee. I wished to assure him that I had intended to apply no censure whatever upon him, and I hoped I had said nothing which could in any manner hurt his feelings. He said I had not—that I had expressed my opinions freely but not offensively. He said Edwards was yet ill. The committee have adjourned to next Monday; Livingston being gone to New York, and Webster to Philadelphia.

3d. Mr. Swift, Consul of Portugal at Alexandria, who brought me a vehement protest from the Portuguese Chargé d'Affaires, Joaquim Barroso Pereyra, against the reception of Mr. Rebello as Chargé d'Affaires from the Emperor of Brazil.

General Houston asked me if I had heard of any project of setting up J. Forsyth as a candidate for the Vice-Presidency. I had not, and was much surprised at the question. He said it had been seriously contemplated in the event of Mr. Crawford's being withdrawn on account of his health, an event deemed probable, and that it was connected with a plan to support Mr. Clay for the Presidency; connected also with

the visit of Mr. Van Buren and Mr. Dickerson to Richmond and Monticello. Houston said he had himself a high regard for all the Presidential candidates except Mr. Crawford, who had wronged him personally in the year 1816—but he did not explain how.

I called at the President's, and read to him Mr. Pereyra's passionate protest. Mr. Calhoun was there, and J. McLean, the Postmaster-General, afterwards came in. Calhoun was there, to introduce the Cherokee chiefs, Major Ridge, Ross, Lowry, and Hicks, who have spent the winter here, and now came to take leave of the President. Ridge, the first chief of the delegation, who speaks no English, made a short address in their language to the President, which was interpreted by Ross and Lowry. It was merely an expression of thanks for the reception and treatment they had met here, and assurances that they would remember it after their return home. There was less of Indian oratory, and more of the common style of white discourse, than in the same chief's speech on their first introduction. The President answered briefly, by general expressions of kindness and interest in their favor.

The manners and deportment of these men have in no respect differed from those of well-bred country gentlemen. They have frequented all the societies, where they have been invited at evening parties, attended several drawing-rooms, and most of Mrs. Adams's Tuesday evenings. They dress like ourselves, except that Hicks, a young and very handsome man, wore habitually a purfled scarf. He and Ross are half-breeds, and Ross is the writer of the delegation. They have sustained a written controversy against the Georgia delegation with great advantage.

The President this day gave me two sheets of paper, dated 20th and 21st January, 1823, being confirmations by the Senate of nominations to office at the session of Congress before the last. These papers had been loosely mixed among others now nearly eighteen months, and for want of these confirmations new nominations, in several instances, have been made, at this last session, of persons whose appointments were already complete—among them, that of Mr. Woodbridge as Secretary of

the Michigan Territory, who I feared had been in the same predicament with Governor Miller, of Arkansas—acting upwards of a year without any appointment. These irregularities happen for want of system in the multiplicity of business always crowding upon the President, and, above all, from his want of an efficient private Secretary.

4th. J. S. Barbour, member of the House of Representatives. Barbour told me he had been summoned back from home to attend the Investigating Committee as a witness. He became such in this manner. A letter was published in the Richmond Enquirer stating that when the nomination of Edwards for the Mexican mission was before the Senate, Mr. Noble, Senator from Indiana, with a view to the vote he should give upon that nomination, asked Edwards if he was the author of the A. B. letters, which Edwards positively and solemnly denied. The writer of this letter is understood to be T. Benton, the Senator from Missouri. When the letter in the Enquirer appeared here, Barbour being in conversation concerning it with Mr. Clay, the Speaker, Clay observed that the mere denial of being the author of an anonymous publication was justifiable; it was the writer's secret, and he had the right to disconcert improper curiosity by a direct denial. But if the question was asked by a Senator with a view to his vote upon a nomination, then a denial contrary to the truth would be, in his opinion, dishonorable. A few minutes afterwards, Barbour, meeting Noble, had asked him how it had been; and Noble told him that Mr. Edwards had in the most positive and solemn manner denied to him that he had been the author of the A. B. letters, but that it had been without any reference whatever to the nomination in the Senate or to Noble's vote upon it. And hereupon Noble and Benton are summoned to discredit Edwards; and Barbour to discredit Noble, by proving that he told the story two different ways, inconsistent with each other. Cook told me that Edwards, besides the copy of Stephenson's letter which had been in question, had also found at the Land Office a copy of another letter, written about ten days later, and referring to it. He said also that Edwards had received a confidential letter from a friend, saying that a Clerk in the Treasury

had told him that the letter from Stephenson had been received and was several days in the Secretary's possession. But he does not name the Clerk, and it is probable he will be unwilling to testify.

Three Quakers came as a deputation from a society of their persuasion to express to the Government their great anxiety for the suppression of the slave-trade. They had been with the President, who had requested them also to see me. They stated their great concern that, from all the evidence they had been able to collect, it appeared that the trade was carried on more extensively and with greater inhumanity than ever. It was carried on, they said, chiefly under the French flag; and they came to enquire if some effectual appeal could not be made to the Government of France to prevail upon them to take measures for putting it down. I told them what had been done, and what I hoped might yet be done, in negotiation with the maritime powers, and promised them all the aid I could give them for the accomplishment of their purpose.

H. Lee spoke of the book he has lately published against Judge Johnson's Life of Greene, and of the letter from the Marquis of Hastings to Lee's father in vindication of his conduct relative to the execution of Colonel Hayne during our Revolutionary War. He said Mr. Cheves had questioned the propriety of publishing that letter, as it seemed to bear hard upon the character of Hayne; but I thought this was not a sufficient reason for withholding it.

6th. I called at Mr. Fletcher's and saw Mr. N. Edwards. He is quite unwell, suffering with a very severe cough from a cold taken upon his journey to this place. He spoke of his address, and of his motives for sending it from Wheeling. He said when Mr. Crawford's report of 22d March was put into his hands he was on the very point of his departure; his trunks were all packed, and he had no papers or documents to which he could resort. He saw that the paragraph in the report was intended as an imputation of perjury against him, and he thought he had no means of repelling it—not then recollecting the correspondence between himself and Crawford of 9th and 12th February, 1822. He thought he had no means of self-

defence but by going to Edwardsville. On his way to Wheeling, however, many things occurred to his recollection, upon which he determined to write his address. On arriving at Edwardsville, he found not only the letter from Stephenson which had been in question, but another of a later date referring to it, and which he had no doubt had been also received by Mr. Crawford. He has an ingenious argument to show that Mr. Crawford did receive the first letter; but it raises a mere probability, and the Clerk in the Treasury who had said that it was received flinches from giving testimony to the fact.

Taylor remained here till near midnight. The committee are to meet to-morrow. Webster has returned from Philadelphia, but Livingston has not come in from New York. Taylor thought the publication by Edwards of Stephenson's letters disrespectful to the committee. I said I should have thought so too, if he could have thought the committee were impartial; but their bias was too apparent, and the letter in the Richmond Enquirer, from the best authority (A. Stevenson), asserting that one of the most distinguished members of the committee (Webster) had said that if Edwards produced no stronger evidence to support his charges the committee would pronounce heavy censure upon him, shows the use of means to turn against Edwards the current of public opinion so abhorrent to my sense of justice that I scarcely know how to speak of it with composure.

7th. Mr. Kingston came upon his claim of the last century, but the copies of the papers were not yet made out. Mr. Addington, to enquire if any steps had been taken with the Government of South Carolina upon the State law prohibiting, upon penalties, free colored persons from coming into the State in vessels. I told him the directions which had been given to the District Attorney at Charleston, and the failure, by the discharge of the man, of an opportunity to bring the subject up for the decision of the Supreme Court. I told him also that I proposed writing to the Governor of South Carolina, and sending him a copy of the papers remonstrating against the operation of the law.

8th. The three Commissioners under the eleventh article of

the Florida Treaty, H. L. White, W. King, and L. W. Tazewell, and their Secretary, Dr. Watkins. The Florida Claim Commissioners closed their sessions and adjourned without day. Dr. Watkins brought the volume of records of their proceedings, and four schedules containing lists of the memorials presented to them, and upon which they have acted—one of which is to be transmitted to the Treasury Department, where the claims are to be paid. There is a great mass of documents and vouchers, which it is provided by the Convention shall be deposited in the Department of State; and, as there will be for some time frequent occasion to recur to them, the Commissioners recommended that they should remain in the custody of Dr. Watkins, the only person who understands the order and arrangement in which they are kept.

I spoke to them of R. W. Meade's protest. Mr. Tazewell said they would furnish me with a minute and thorough analysis of his claim, showing to demonstration that there was no part of it within the treaty; that Spain was bound to pay it.

Judge White said that the board had perhaps rejected some claims that were good, and admitted some that ought to have been rejected. Some such mistakes were unavoidable; but the errors were not considerable, and he hoped that, on the whole, substantial justice had been done.

On taking leave of the Commissioners, I thanked them, in behalf of the Executive Government, for the zeal, industry, and ability with which they had discharged the duties of the Commission.

Griswold had letters of introduction from C. King and H. Wheaton. He was the bearer of a letter from the Presidents of ten insurance companies in New York, complaining of the capture of three United States vessels by the Colombian privateer General Santander, Captain Chase, of Baltimore; and two depositions showing that all the officers of the privateer were American citizens, and that forty men of her crew were enlisted at New Orleans and shipped at the Balize.

I took these papers to the President. He had received a Baltimore newspaper containing a long communication to

justify these captures. I left with him the papers brought by Mr. Griswold; and he determined that Watkins should be retained as long as should be necessary, in custody of the Florida Claim Commission papers, with a continuance of the salary he has had as their Secretary.

Mr. Wirt spent a couple of hours with me this evening, and spoke much of N. Edwards, of Webster, of J. Randolph, and of Tazewell, who has written what Wirt calls a "Peeler" against Webster and in support of Randolph, which is to be published in the Richmond Enquirer.

9th. Messrs. Griswold and Ogden came upon the application from the insurance companies at New York against the depredations of the Colombian privateer General Santander. I called at the President's, and he directed a Cabinet meeting for to-morrow at one o'clock.

10th. Cabinet meeting at one. Messrs. Calhoun and Wirt present. Mr. Southard is, with the Commissioners of the Navy, on a tour to Norfolk, Virginia. Mr. Anderson, the Comptroller, was with the President upon a question concerning the transfer of fifteen thousand dollars from the appropriation for compensation to the members of the House of Representatives to that of the contingent expenses of the House—the latter of these appropriations for the present year being deficient that sum, and the former redundant. The question was upon the power of the President to direct the transfer;[1] and that depends on the question whether the expenditures of the House of Representatives may constructively be considered as expenditures of the Treasury Department. Mr. Wirt thinks they may. No decision this day. The President had a letter from General La Fayette, referring to the Resolution of Congress that a public ship be sent to bring him to the United States. He declares his intention to come this summer; but expresses a preference to coming in a private ship, from various considerations, without positively declining it. The President, who thought that important political consequences were involved in this personal compliment, offered for discussion whether a

[1] See United States Laws, Act of 3d March, 1809, vol. iv. p. 221; Act of 3d March, 1817, vol. vi. p. 235; Act of 16th February, 1818, p. 256.

public ship should, nevertheless, be sent to France for the General, or whether a person should be sent out to attend him as a companion hither. A letter from Mr. Brown confirmed what was already known, that many people in France, perhaps the Government party generally, have considered this invitation as indicating strong hostility to the Bourbons. The more of exhibition there is in carrying it into execution, the more this sentiment will be felt; and the President said he thought the form in which it would show itself would be in slights to Mr. Brown. And he related how, after the attack upon the Chesapeake, the Queen of England, at a drawing-room, passed him without speaking to him. On the other hand, if full effect should not be given by the Executive to the Resolution of Congress, the people of this country would be much dissatisfied.

There was much desultory conversation, but no decision. Some remarks were made upon the inconsiderateness of the Resolution; upon the expense which it must occasion, left entirely unprovided for; of the inconveniences and charges upon him, and the attitude of public exhibition under which he must appear wherever he may go in this country. I thought he saw much of this himself, and that he meant to decline coming out in a public ship positively, though from delicacy he had not said so in peremptory tones.

Another question discussed was, whether the President could now sign the Act concerning the Florida wreckers, which was examined and actually announced to the House as having been signed, but accidentally, among forty or fifty other Acts approved the last evening before the close of the session, remained without his signature. Could the President sign an Act, Congress not being in session? Wirt thought he could. So did I. The article of the Constitution concerning the signature of the President to Acts of Congress was read and analyzed. Nothing in it requiring that the President should sign while Congress are in session.

Calhoun said that uniform practice had established a practical construction of the Constitution.

I observed that the practice had merely grown out of the

precedents in the British Parliament. But the principles were different. The King was a constituent part of Parliament, and no Act of Parliament could be valid without the King's approbation. But the President is not a constituent part of Congress, and an Act of Congress may be valid as law without his signature or assent.

Calhoun still thought that the uniform practice made the law.

Mr. Wirt also thought that as the President had examined the Act for signature, and it had been announced that he had signed it, he might sign it now, and date it as of that time, "nunc pro tunc."

The President seemed to be afraid of the captious and cavilling spirit of the time; and that there might be misrepresentation of motives if the Act should be signed in this manner.

Calhoun was under the same impression. And as the Act was to commence its operation only in October, and was not of an urgent character, it was concluded to be the safest course to leave the Act unsigned, and state the facts to Congress at their next session.

The letter from the insurance companies at New York, and the two depositions enclosed with it, were read and considered. The captain, all the officers, and a large portion of the men of the privateer General Santander, are citizens of the United States. She took in forty men and part of her equipment in the United States. She took and sent into Laguayra two vessels of the United States, and took out twenty-six bales of dry-goods from a third. I read a dispatch from H. Nelson, mentioning complaints of Count Ofalia, the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs, against depredations of South American privateers fitted out in this country.

The President wished me to send for Mr. Salazar and remonstrate with him, to give strong instructions to R. C. Anderson, and to send out Watts by the way of Laguayra, to demand restitution.

All this I approved, but proposed also that instructions should be given to our commanders of armed vessels to take

the privateer General Santander and bring her in for trial.[1] Mr. Wirt entered largely into the consideration of the effect of those laws as expounded by the decisions of the United States Courts, the conclusion of which was, that we could not require of the republic of Colombia to acknowledge the principle that free ships make free goods—neither by our treaty with Spain nor by the law of nations; that we could not take at sea, out of our own jurisdiction, any vessel for violation of the law of 20th April, 1818; that we could take the privateer General Santander for violation of the Act of 3d March, 1819, only upon the charge of having taken out twenty-six bales of dry-goods from one of our merchantmen, but that she could be taken for that.

Mr. Calhoun doubted the right of expatriation; said he was always against it in feeling, and had never committed himself upon it during the late war.

I agreed with him in the sentiment, but said we had foreclosed this argument against ourselves by the oath renouncing foreign allegiance, which we required from foreigners as the condition of naturalization. After long discussion, the meeting was adjourned till to-morrow at noon.

11th. Cabinet meeting at noon. Calhoun and Wirt present. Southard was expected this day, but will only be here to-morrow. I put a question which had not been much taken into view yesterday—whether the unsigned Act of Congress is or is not law without the President's signature; the chief question yesterday having been whether the President could now sign it. The Constitution provides that unsigned and unreturned Acts shall, after ten days, be law, unless Congress, by adjourning within the ten days, prevent the return of the Act. In this case the adjournment, though it took place within the ten days, did not *prevent* the return, because the return with objections had not been intended, and it had even been announced to the House that it had been signed. Wirt thought, nevertheless, that the Act was not law; and so the President decided.

The case of the privateer General Santander was again de-

[1] By virtue of the Act of Congress of 20th April, 1818, United States Laws, vol. vi. p. 320; of 3d March, 1819, ibid., p. 412; of 15th May, 1820, ibid., p. 529; and of 30th January, 1823, 17 C., 2 S., ch. 7, p. 5.

bated. All the grounds of yesterday re-explored. I read the paragraphs of my instructions to R. C. Anderson respecting the obligation of our treaty with Spain upon the republic of Colombia, and referred to the project of a commercial treaty sent me by Salazar.

Mr. Wirt insisted that we could not, without inconsistency, deny the right of belligerents by the law of nations to take the property of enemies in neutral vessels, and read in the State papers Mr. Jefferson's letter to Genest upon that subject. I considered the law of nations upon this point as unsettled; but Mr. Wirt's argument was supported by decisions of the Supreme Court, against which the Executive Government could not safely assume an adversary principle. That knot of national law will always ultimately resolve itself into a question of *force*.

The question as to the obligation of the republic of Colombia to abide by the stipulation of the article of our Treaty of 1795 with Spain, made when Colombia formed a part of the Spanish dominions, presents a problem of more complexity. As a general principle, the independence of Colombia absolves her from the engagements of the treaties of Spain with other powers, but some of the obligations of those treaties remain binding upon her, such, for example, as demarcations of boundaries; and there are strong equitable claims for considering this stipulation of the number. I instanced the case of the Emperor of Brazil, who has declared that *he* shall consider himself bound by all the treaties of Portugal.

The opinion of Mr. Wirt, however, was that we could not insist absolutely upon it. Mr. Calhoun concurred with it; and, although the President thought otherwise, I was sure it would be a desperate attempt to maintain against a foreign State a position upon which there is so much division among ourselves. Mr. Wirt still thought that the privateer General Santander might be taken for the twenty-six bales of goods taken out of one of the captured vessels; but I observed that I wished the final determination not to be taken till to-morrow, when the Secretary of the Navy will be here—the more as, upon looking into the Colombian privateering ordinance, this Act appears to be authorized by it. Further discussion, whether a frigate shall

be sent for General La Fayette, and whether to Havre, Brest, or Marseilles. Decision postponed.

Two Quakers, by the names of James and of Lytle, came with a Mr. Howland to expound claims upon Great Britain, in which James is interested, for captures in 1805 and 1807. James is a man about fourscore years of age, and he gave me a long account of these captures, and of all the proceedings upon them, showing that great injustice had been done him, as he thought. And he argued that, as the United States had made peace with Great Britain without obtaining indemnity for his losses, they were themselves bound to make him that indemnity.

This is a favorite argument of all sufferers by depredation and wrong from foreign Governments. The argument of abstract right is strong; but as the justice obtainable from foreign nations is at all times, and under every state of things, very imperfect, and as the only alternative in cases of denial of justice is the abandonment of the claim or war, a nation by abandoning the claim, after exhausting every pacific expedient for obtaining justice, neither partakes of the injustice done nor makes itself responsible to the sufferer; for war, even if it eventually obtains justice for that sufferer, secures it by the sufferings of thousands of others equally unmerited, and which must ultimately remain unindemnified. And mere inability to obtain justice cannot incur the obligation which it is unable to enforce.

12th. At the President's. Mr. Anderson, the Comptroller, Southard, and Wirt were there. They both agreed that the President had the power to transfer the appropriation from the pay of members to the contingent expenses of the House of Representatives. I did not concur in the opinion, but had not thoroughly examined the laws or the question. I thought the House ought to be made sensible themselves of the embarrassments resulting from their own excessive restrictions. It is only by a broad latitude of construction that the power of transfer can in this case be assumed. But it is of urgent necessity, and the President gave the order.

The case of the Colombian privateer General Santander was again considered. The taking of enemy's property out of a neutral ship is authorized by the Colombian privateering

ordinance; and so is the fitting out of privateers by foreigners. I had received a letter from C. J. Ingersoll, proposing that we should proclaim and enforce a new and liberal American law of nations, and particularly that free ships should make free goods, which I read at this meeting. But it was unanimously determined not to resort at this time to force, but to dispatch as soon as possible B. T. Watts, directing him to land at Laguayra and endeavor there to obtain the restoration of the property; to send strong instructions to Anderson, urging the principle of free ships making free goods, and remonstrating against the employment of our citizens as officers and crews of their privateers. I am also to send for Mr. Salazar, the Colombian Minister, to come here, and confer with him upon the subject; and there is to be another meeting on Monday for final determination relating to it.

Wyer called in after dinner, and intimated that Scott, of Missouri, had told him that Noble's testimony given before the Committee of Investigation this day had implicated Mr. Calhoun in the proceedings of Edwards against Crawford; and that it was of the most decisive character against Edwards himself; and that Edwards himself had refused to answer some interrogatories of the committee.

13th. D. Brent had called on me before church, and mentioned that he had been present yesterday at the examination of Mr. Noble, and that it must operate most unfavorably to Mr. Edwards. J. W. Taylor was at church, and, after the service was over, I went in with him to his brother's, where he now lodges, and he gave me a summary account of the proceedings of the committee. Noble's testimony was of the strongest character against him—evidently studied for operation and effect; not only strong as to a positive and absolute denial by Edwards that he was the author of the A. B. letters, but for a high panegyric upon the ability and integrity of Mr. Crawford, and upon his great services to the Western country, pronounced by him. L. Cheves also pronounced a high eulogium upon Mr. Crawford's management of the finances, and particularly upon his transactions with the Western banks. The second letter from Stephenson, a copy of which Edwards

has brought, is not found at the Treasury, nor recollected by any person there. Edwards delivered in yesterday a reply to Mr. Crawford's answer, longer than his address, but it was not read, the committee having sat till ten last night examining Edwards and Noble. Benton acknowledged himself the writer of the letter in the Richmond Enquirer reporting incorrectly the statement of Noble, and Benton acknowledged that he had misunderstood him. Upon J. S. Barbour's speaking to Cook, after Noble had given his testimony, Benton said that Noble must not go, as an attempt would be made to discredit him. Floyd's bias continues as it has been from the beginning; Webster's, equally strong, though less apparent; McArthur's, growing. Livingston still retains something like a balance.

14th. At noon attended the Cabinet meeting. Calhoun, Southard, and Wirt present. Case of the Colombian privateer General Santander. The President read a paper that he had drawn—not finished, but which he proposed to issue as a proclamation or public declaration of our principles relating to neutrality, and to South America. The whole subject was discussed in a desultory manner. Mr. Wirt was confirmed in his opinion that the Colombian republic is not bound to admit the principle that free ships make free goods, either by the law of nations or by our treaty with Spain. And as the Colombian privateering ordinance authorizes foreigners to fit out and take commissions for privateers under their flag, and also to take enemy's property out of neutral ships, Chase cannot be taken or tried as a pirate upon either of those grounds. The right of expatriation was again brought into question, and Mr. Calhoun expressed very strongly the opinion that citizens of the United States, native born, have no such right, except Virginians, by virtue of a law of the State.

Mr. Wirt recurred to the decisions of the Supreme Court, of which there have been several, admitting the right of expatriation as a general principle, but denying it in every particular case that has come before them. The last was in 1822, the Santissima Trinidad, in which they refused to acknowledge the expatriation of a Captain Chaytor, under circumstances similar to those of Chase in this case—reported in the seventh volume

of Wheaton. The result is, that we are to treat the whole subject diplomatically, and write much, but not to issue orders to take and bring in the privateer. Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Southard were both averse to the President's issuing the declaration or manifesto that he had contemplated; and he gave up the idea. There was some talk of publishing an article in the National Intelligencer, holding out threats of issuing orders for taking Chase and his privateer, which it was supposed would frighten him off and deter others; but I disapprove all menaces as measures of government when you determine not to strike. The President rests much upon general considerations—upon our interest and policy to sustain the South American nations.

17th. At the President's. Edward Livingston with him when I went in. Withdrew. The President spoke of the proceedings of the committee. I had heard little of them since Sunday. Rumors of Benton's pistol purchase, and of a duel in perspective between Forsyth and Cook. After dinner, call at King's, the painter. Solitary walk. J. W. Taylor. Dispositions of the committee. Webster's eagerness to censure Edwards. Noble's testimony against him. Taylor's objection to censure, the House not being in session to correct the report of the committee if wrong. One of two views to be taken—to state Edwards by facts to be the aggressor, or directly to pronounce the charges frivolous and malignant.

19th. Calhoun read me a letter to the Committee of Investigation, and one to D. Webster, that he had written, stating the fact that N. Edwards had sent through him to D. P. Cook the packet from Wheeling containing his address to the House, but stating that he had no other knowledge of it, and offering to give any information to the committee that they might desire. He said that he had read the draft of these letters this morning to the President, who at first thought it would be proper to send them. But Mr. Southard and Mr. Wirt afterwards coming in, it had been thought, on reflection, that it would have the appearance of volunteering testimony, and that Edwards had lost himself, and would certainly sink under this affair, so that interference now might connect unnecessarily the Administration with the odium which would be attached

to him; that the effort of Mr. Crawford's agents now was to fix upon the President and other members of the Administration a combination and concert with Edwards to attack Crawford; while the fact was directly the reverse, and Crawford's career had been an uninterrupted series of attacks upon the Administration, always disavowed or disguised by himself; that, in this state of things, the cause of the Administration should be kept as distinct as possible from that of Edwards, and when the issue is made with Crawford it should be on independent ground. To this Calhoun yielded, but brought the letters to me to consult me upon them.

I said I should not oppose my opinion to those of the President, Mr. Southard, and Mr. Wirt. But I believed it would ultimately be impossible to avoid the issue, and inclined to think it would be as well to take it now as at any time. I had observed in the newspapers statements that Cook and Edwards had declined answering the question through whom the packet had been transmitted, and intimations that it had gone through the War Office. But there was another occasion on which his (Calhoun's) name had been mentioned by Noble, in relating his conversation with Edwards; and upon a call from Edwards to tell *all* the conversation, he had stated that Edwards told him he had long expected this Mexican appointment; that the President was in his power through the means of Colonel Lane, and that Mr. Calhoun—— Here the witness was stopped by Mr. Livingston, and Mr. Forsyth had agreed that it was not relevant. Now, this stopping of the testimony would operate worse on the public mind than if everything had come out. And come out it all ultimately must.

Calhoun said he believed so too, but that it should be by the President's acting directly upon Crawford. It was impossible for an Administration in this country to get along with one of its members in secret and perpetual hostility against it. This had been the case with Crawford from 1816 down to this day. And what had been for the last nine months the situation of the Treasury? No Secretary but Asbury Dickins; scarcely any papers signed by Mr. Crawford—and a fac-simile engraved, and his daughter's hand used, even for most of these.

I asked if these were *facts*.

They were *said* to be.

Did the President *know* what the real management at the Treasury was?

He believed not.

Had the President *any* distrust of Mr. Crawford?

He believed he had *now*, from what he had said this morning.

I said the President had never intimated to me the slightest distrust of Crawford, and I had never hinted a sentiment of distrust of him to the President. In the case of L. Harris, he had sworn to the thing that was not, but I attributed it altogether to an error of memory. I had two years ago put to the President certain questions in writing, which he had promised me he would answer in writing, but had not yet done so. As the material fact was of the *day* when a thing was said, I was afraid that his own memory would not serve him to speak precisely. But he would not, for he could not, sustain the assertion of Crawford. I had done everything that man could honestly do to keep on terms with him. But I expected it would ultimately not be possible.

He asked if the President could not *now* remove him.

I said, No, he could not, because, though for years he had been giving ample cause for it, there was yet nothing new upon which a case could be made out. Much more conversation to this effect.

20th. N. Edwards at church, and took a seat with me; has a sepulchral cough. Met D. P. Cook, who walked home with me. Committee have closed their examinations. Edwards proposed last night, and repeated the proposal this morning, that Crawford should be examined. Noble's testimony. Cook says Edwards explicitly denies the encomium upon Crawford attested by Noble. I said, if it was not true, he ought to meet it by most explicit denial to the committee. He says also that O'Neal had told General Jackson that a Clerk in the Treasury had told him Mr. Crawford had received Stephenson's letter in 1819; that Jackson told it to Eaton, by whom Edwards was informed of it. Cook has seen O'Neal, who confirms this statement, and says that since the publication of

Stephenson's letter he took it to the person, who read it, and said that was the letter, but he would upon no earthly consideration consent to be summoned to testify to the fact. And O'Neal was equally unwilling to be examined, and objected that it would implicate General Jackson. Upon which, Cook said, Edwards had concluded rather to lose the benefit of the testimony than to involve Jackson. He said there was nothing to affect Edwards's credit except Noble's testimony, and if the committee should report against Edwards, he thought he would resign and make his final appeal to Congress at their next session.

21st. Note from the President. Cabinet meeting at half-past nine. Report of the Committee of Investigation, with all the documents, brought about noon, by Webster, and Clarke, Clerk of H. R., to the President. Calhoun, Southard, and Wirt present. Papers read. Report of the committee. Edwards's reply to Crawford's answer. His argument on the evidence. Forsyth's remarks. Depositions of Noble, Mason, Elkins, Wharton, Seaton, and Dickins. Much discussion upon what is to be done. The President read a draft of a notification to Edwards of the revocation of his commission as Minister to Mexico.

I questioned upon what assignable motive this step could be taken. The committee have passed no censure upon him. But it is apprehended that Noble's testimony of his having denied that he was the author of the A. B. publications, and pronounced a panegyric upon Mr. Crawford, while the nomination to the Mexican mission was before the Senate, will blast his character before the nation; and the President thinks that if he does not remove him, his own character will be blasted too.

Calhoun said that every one of Edwards's charges against Mr. Crawford was substantiated, but still thought that he must be removed, unless he should resign.

Mr. Wirt and Mr. Southard concurred in this opinion.

Mine was that Mr. Edwards, for his own sake and in justice to his own character, ought to resign, but that this act ought to be entirely voluntary on his part,, and, if he should not resign, there was nothing in the report of the committee or

in the proceedings of the House or in the documents, which would justify the President in removing him.

Much warm and animated discussion upon this point. In supporting with the most conscientious earnestness my own sentiment, I avowed the determination to acquiesce in the decision of the President.

It was thought advisable to ascertain what were Mr. Edwards's own intentions, and Mr. Wirt, as his particular and intimate friend, was requested to see and converse with Mr. Cook to this end.

I was earnestly desirous that this consultation should be confined merely to the enquiry what Mr. Edwards proposed to do, without intimating to him even a wish on the part of the Executive that he would resign. The subject assumed a range of discussion involving the whole conduct of the Administration from its commencement; the unvaried hostile position of all Mr. Crawford's partisans to the Administration, and his own ambiguous conduct, always disavowing, yet never controlling, the opposition of his friends, were freely noticed. The President read parts of a letter from Crawford to him of 4th July, 1822, of his answer written in August, and of a reply from Crawford in September or October, all originating in a letter from A. Scott, then at Pensacola, to Crawford, mentioning a rumor there, that *he was to be removed.*

This correspondence was a partial clearing up of clouds and suspicions, and terminated in the expression of the President's wish that Crawford should continue in the Administration. He disavowed any intentional opposition, explained some oppositions of opinion, and intimated suspicions that, from two quarters, prejudices against him had been excited in the President's mind, which the President in reply pointedly denies. As the President omitted the reading of most of those parts of the letter, I asked him if I was one of the persons alluded to; which he declined answering.

The state of the Treasury for the last nine months was adverted to, and the question asked whether the President knew what it was. He knew only generally from the reports of the Comptroller, Anderson, that all was correctly transacted; but

rumors are in circulation, concerning which the President declared his determination to enquire further.

The meeting lasted till near seven in the evening, and was adjourned till eight to-morrow morning.

After dinner I called to see J. W. Taylor, who goes early to-morrow for home. He mentioned to me many particulars of the proceedings of the committee. Floyd, the Chairman, offered a resolution declaring the charges of Edwards frivolous and malicious. This no other member of the committee supported; but Webster unceasingly labored to get a sentiment inserted into the report to the same effect. This was resisted by Taylor, who was supported by Livingston, and resulted in a compromise greatly moderating the proposed panegyric of Webster upon the management of the Treasury by Mr. Crawford, and forbearing all expression of sentiment against Edwards. From Webster's conduct in the committee, Taylor has no doubt that he is a thorough-going political partisan of Mr. Crawford, and he connects with it his late visit to Buchanan in Pennsylvania, his persuading Noble, who had already reached Pennsylvania on his way home, to come back and testify against Edwards, and other movements in concert with other persons. Taylor had seen McLean, who, he said, was alarmed at this new and extensive *federal* organization for Crawford, and told him he had information that the electoral law would not pass in New York. He referred also to a letter in the Richmond Enquirer composing in substance an Administration for Crawford, of Van Buren, Forsyth, Webster, and McLane, and a corresponding article in praise of Buchanan in Binns's paper at Philadelphia. McLean's conclusion was, of the absolute necessity that Jackson should be given up by all who mean to oppose the election of Crawford. Taylor told me he might probably see Clinton at New York, and asked if he should converse with him, as had been heretofore proposed. I said, yes, but advised him to say nothing that would either import reliance upon Clinton, or expectation of support from him. With this he fully concurred.

22d. Cabinet meeting from eight A.M. till half past nine in the evening, with the interval of about an hour to dine, which we

did at the President's. Present Calhoun, Southard, and Wirt. Mr. Wirt mentioned that he had seen and conversed last evening and this morning with Mr. Cook; that in the course of the day Mr. Edwards would send in his resignation, or give notice that he should expect an intimation from the President to that effect.

I then observed that I remained of the same opinion that I had entertained from the beginning of this affair: that for his own sake, for the support of his own character, and to take away all color of surmise that the President or any member of his Administration was in concert with him in his controversy with Mr. Crawford, he ought to resign his office; but that if he should not perform this act voluntarily, I was of opinion not only that he ought not to be removed, but that no intimation should be given him of a wish on the part of the Executive that he should resign; that he should be ordered to proceed immediately to Mexico, with a reservation that if at the next session of Congress the House should adopt any measure requiring his presence, he should be prepared to expect his recall, and to return at the shortest notice to the United States, so as to be here in the course of the session. I assigned at large my reasons for this opinion, which were, that there was nothing in the course of proceedings, either of the House or of the committee, that would warrant his removal. So far as the report of the committee went to palliate, to excuse, and to justify Mr. Crawford, I had no objection to make to it; that there was in the committee partiality to Mr. Crawford was certain, and the motives for it were easily seen—a prevailing popular clamor against Edwards, and personal impulses of interest and ambition in the breast of Mr. Webster, to catch the prospect of advancement in the event of Crawford's election; yet, with all this partiality, the committee had not expressed a sentiment of the slightest censure upon Edwards. Though Webster had caused a secret and most improper intimation to be given to the President that the committee would censure Edwards, though he had caused most improperly the same thing to be published in the Richmond Enquirer, he had not been able to prevail upon the committee to express any such

censure. What foundation of justice, therefore, was there for the Executive to inflict upon Mr. Edwards the whole punishment that he could if the most pointed vote of censure had been passed upon him by the committee? Nay, if he had been convicted upon impeachment, the whole extent of the power of the President would have been to remove him. And what purpose could that now answer but to give Mr. Crawford a triumph, not merely of justification, but of revenge?

Mr. Wirt said that the course which I proposed would, he believed, be that which would in after-times appear to have been the most just and honorable; but that he could not help being affected by the prevailing popular prejudice—the universal reprobation of Edwards in the public mind, first excited by his apparent running away from his own accusation, and next by the general impression that upon his recent examination he had entirely sunk and lost himself before the committee, and finally by the testimony of Noble, fixing upon him the solemn denial, while his nomination was before the Senate, that he was the author of the A. B. publications, which he so shortly afterwards avowed, and a high panegyric upon Mr. Crawford, whom he so shortly afterwards accused. These things so affected his moral reputation that it seemed scarcely possible to send him as a Minister in a foreign country without the Government itself catching the infection with which his name is tainted.

About this stage of the discussion came in a letter from Mr. Edwards to the President, resigning his commission, enclosed in a note requesting that he would keep it a few days before filing it in the Department of State, that he might determine whether he should assign his reasons for his resignation.

This immediately changed the topic of deliberation. Mr. Wirt said that if there was no sufficient reason for removing Edwards there was, in his opinion, no reason for his resigning; and as his resignation had probably been sent in consequence of the conversation between him (Wirt) and D. P. Cook, if the President's opinion was that Edwards ought not to be removed, he ought to have the option of withdrawing his resignation.

There was then a proposal that Cook should again be seen

or written to by Mr. Wirt, to warn Edwards to keep the tender of his resignation secret, and that, if he pleased, he might withdraw it.

To this I objected, wishing that no unsteadiness or wavering might appear in the proceedings of the Executive; but I urged that the President should come to a decision in the event of Edwards's withdrawing his resignation, whether he would revoke the commission or not.

The discussion continued till Calhoun declared that he came over to my opinion, and Wirt said his mind was so divided that he was for both sides of the question. Southard was little less perplexed, and the President finally declined deciding till to-morrow.

I then observed that, previous to a decision, it would be proper to complete the reading of the papers; and they were read. Calhoun, Southard, and Wirt all expressed the opinion that Edwards was a deeply-injured man, and Calhoun repeatedly said that all his charges against Mr. Crawford were made good. They remarked much upon the composition of the committee, and Calhoun said that one different individual in the place of Webster would have given an entirely different aspect to the whole affair.

Shortly after dinner, and while the papers were reading, the Washington Republican of the evening was brought in. The resignation of Mr. Edwards was announced in it. The reading of the papers was nevertheless completed, and about eight in the evening Mr. Clarke, the Clerk of the House of Representatives, came and took them away for publication.

Among the observations made by the President during the day, he intimated that he should appoint Poinsett to go to Mexico, and that he intended fully to ascertain the real state of the management of the Treasury Department for the last nine months, and said that, if necessary, he should appoint, according to law, a person to act during Mr. Crawford's intended absence, and should charge me with that trust, if I would undertake it.

I said I had no doubt he would find, upon examination, that the business of the Treasury Department had been transacted

with as much accuracy and fidelity as was compatible with Mr. Crawford's indisposition; and if no material inconvenience to the public service had occurred or was likely to occur, I thought it would be best not to make the temporary appointment. The use of a fac-simile of his signature is the only fact of questionable legality and propriety that has been mentioned; the fact itself was said to be established, but I suppose the fac-simile has been kept at his own house, and used only by himself or at his order.

There was much comment upon it by Calhoun, Southard, and Wirt; and a speech of Webster's during the session, adverting to Mr. Crawford's inability to discharge the duties of his office, and to the law applicable to the case, which he read, was noticed. That debate was not reported, or was slurred over, in the National Intelligencer; but Wirt said he had heard Webster's remarks were supposed to have been intended to attract the attention of the President to the actual state of the Treasury.

The range of discussion this day was over the whole history of Mr. Monroe's Administration, and to the deadly opposition against it by Mr. Crawford's partisans, from the Seminole War debates down to the ratification of the Slave-Trade Convention. The President said he thought Mr. Crawford had not sufficiently discountenanced this warfare, but that he had once shown him a reply from Cobb to a letter from Crawford to him, which indicated that Crawford had disapproved the *Trio* attack of 1821. I came home this evening so much exhausted by the labor of the day that I was unable to write.

27th. N. Edwards in my pew this evening; came home with me; has received a letter proving that the time of his conversation with Noble *could* not have been when Noble states it; solemnly declares that the whole purport of it has been grossly misrepresented by Noble.

Watkins was at my house. Barton and D. P. Cook went off this morning. H. W. Conway last night challenged Barton to fight, which Barton declined, upon the ground of his having made charges against Conway in the affair of Rector, which had been proved to be well founded by the removal of Rector.

Major Miller, who was Conway's second, refused at first to carry back this answer; but Cook, who was Barton's second, insisted upon it, and it was carried. Miller was to have been Cook's second if he had fought with Forsyth, as was expected.

July 1st. Intelligencer manifesto. G. Sullivan here. Politics. Vice-Presidency—entire uncertainty of the result. Jackson. Calhoun. Stackelberg; presented him to the President to take leave. Salazar. Chassérioux going to Bogota. What will the United States do? French recognition offered if Colombia will change her Government and make a King; say Bolivar. They will not. Salazar is to write. Watkins. The paragraph in the Intelligencer; wrote an answer.

At this point of time a few words of explanation may be necessary to the comprehension of many passages in the following pages which briefly refer to events important at the time, but now almost forgotten. The attack made by Mr. Edwards upon the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Crawford, had been intended as a blow to break him down as a candidate for the Presidency. It had only the effect greatly to embitter the contest. The newspapers grew more and more violent. The National Intelligencer, in some sense used as the official organ of the Administration, though anxious to avoid a breach with any of its Departments, was yet cautiously paving the way to the support of Mr. Crawford against all others. The first manifestation was made in the paper of the 1st of July, which was thought by the rest of the Cabinet so hostile to the Administration that it drew forth not merely a formal reply, but a recourse to a different press, ominous of the rise of a rival official newspaper. This press had taken the name of the National Journal. The Republican, heretofore referred to in this work as the organ of the friends of Mr. Calhoun, after two years of hard and not ineffective labor in impairing the prospects of Mr. Crawford, had not proved equally successful in advancing those of their own candidate, and therefore was brought to a sudden close, having lasted about two years. The National Journal now took its place, conducted by still other editors, and opened to a different influence. Hence sprang up

the controversy referred to in the respective entries of the 1st, the 3d, and the 8th and 9th of July. It is to be observed that the papers prepared by Mr. Adams appear to have been sanctioned by the President and other members of the Cabinet, and hence assume a quasi-official character. These proceedings were further embittered by an incident which appears to have been wholly unexpected. In preparing for a celebration of the 4th of July, it happened that General John P. Van Ness, a prominent citizen of Washington, and an earnest friend of Mr. Crawford, moved by his indignation at the attack made by Edwards, prevailed upon the managers to refuse him admission to the public dinner provided for the occasion. An acceptance by the officers of the Government of an invitation under such a condition thus necessarily implied approbation of the exclusion of Mr. Edwards. Under these circumstances, the President and members of the Cabinet deemed the matter of sufficient moment to prompt a formal public notice declining to attend the dinner. The consequence was that from being a general festivity, as intended, the affair was narrowed down to a celebration by the friends of Mr. Crawford, at which the nomination of him as a candidate for the Presidency constituted the only marked incident.

The narrative now proceeds.

2d. At the President's, who sent for Calhoun. Read my draft of an article in answer to that of the Intelligencer; discussed. Question whether any reference should be in it to the President. Statement that the negotiation of the Slave-Trade Convention was with the unanimous assent of the members of the Administration. Draft approved as written. J. P. Van Ness's exclusion of N. Edwards from the celebration dinner. I propose to withdraw my subscription; Calhoun also. J. McLean to be consulted. Joint letter to decline. Gave Watkins the draft of the article.

A. B. Woodward. His projected meeting for to-morrow evening. Resolutions for abolition of slavery. Advised him to countermand the meeting, and talk with P. U. S. about the resolutions. Note from P. U. S. with Mercer's statement.

Roused John from bed, and sent him to Force's for the proof-copy of the article. He brought it. I made an alteration in it, and sent it back.

3d. Calhoun and McLean here. Draft of the joint letter declaring that we had withdrawn our subscriptions for the dinner. At P. U. S.; submitted it to him, and he approved it. Call at Wirt's office; he agrees with us. Joint letter to T. Carbery and Jos. Gales, Jr. Copy prepared and published in the Washington Republican. Again at P. U. S. A. Scott with him. Disapproves of the exclusion of N. Edwards. *Not* to give notice to the Foreign Ministers that we have withdrawn our subscriptions. Carbery[1] late at my house. Answer from the Committee of Arrangements. His own excuses and apologies. Says the Committee of Arrangements, a majority, were *taken in.* A member of the committee had said that several persons had expressed objections to subscribe or be present if N. Edwards was to be there, and proposed that *private* notice should be given at the bookstores not to receive Edwards's subscription. No vote or resolution of the committee taken upon it, and Carbery himself inclined to object to it, but did not. He afterwards rather advised Van Ness not to give the direction, but he nevertheless did. It was not intended that it should be published, but Force did announce it. The majority of the committee were no supporters of the candidate who is the antagonist of Mr. Edwards. I told Carbery we were perfectly satisfied *he* had intended nothing improper. Article this morning in the National Journal.

4th. My son John this day came of age. Sent him to Mr. Calhoun with a reply to the answer from the Committee of Arrangements. Calhoun sent me back the reply signed by himself and McLean.

6th. Wyer here. Accounts of the dinner at Williamson's yesterday. About two-thirds of the subscribers withdrew their names. At the office. Salazar spoke of the dinner yesterday, as of small numbers and not agreeable. He is going to Philadelphia, and desired me to send my answer to his last note

[1] Mr. Carbery was the Mayor of the city, and a member of the Committee of Arrangements.

there; also a copy of my letter to R. C. Anderson upon the Colombian privateering ordinance. N. Edwards to enquire for a file of the Richmond Enquirer. Returned him the letter from R. King and enclosures, that he had sent for the perusal of the President. Copies of answer from Committee of Arrangements, and reply, sent for the National Journal and Washington Republican.

7th. Correspondence with the Committee of Arrangements in the National Journal. Writing a statement of facts relating to the debate on the Embargo. Note from P. U. S. Cabinet meeting at noon. Only Calhoun and myself present. Salazar's note. How to be answered. The Colombian republic to maintain its own independence. Hope that France and the Holy Allies will not resort to force against it. If they should, the power to determine our resistance is in Congress. The movements of the Executive will be as heretofore expressed. I am to draft an answer. State of Mr. Crawford's health. Attorney-General's opinion; use of a fac-simile lawful; conditionally, if the mind and sight are competent to the transaction of business. Otherwise P. U. S. ought to make a temporary appointment. Calhoun differed from Wirt's opinion; thought the practice was eminently dangerous. Case of Governor McKean in Pennsylvania. Papers relating to it sent by N. Biddle to Crawford. P. U. S. will refer to the Comptroller Anderson, to see Mr. Crawford, ascertain his own opinion, and report.

8th. Washington National Intelligencer second manifesto; two columns against the Secretary of State. P. U. S. sent for me. Met Calhoun there. Mrs. Monroe taken ill last night, so that the President could not go to Loudoun, as he had intended. Mr. Crawford sent him word by Mr. Anderson that he would call upon him this day, but he did not. I asked if there had not been several Treasury warrants paid without *any* signature of the Secretary. P. U. S. did not know.

9th. J. McLean called, and read me an article prepared upon the subject of our declining to attend the dinner. Watkins was here, and afterwards at the office. I gave him the article in reply to the National Intelligencer, and D. Brent's statement.

10th. At the President's, with letters from the Slave Indemnity Commissioners. Draft of answer to them. Mr. Crawford's

health and fac-simile. Anderson's report; speaks strongly of Mr. Crawford's rapid convalescence; refers the main question to the President's own observation upon an interview promised by Mr. Crawford on the 8th, but he did not come. Many warrants were paid without *any* signature by Mr. Crawford; but, after payment, the fac-simile was applied to them. P. U. S. said he would call upon Anderson for a more specific report.

12th. Dr. Thornton called, and said he had written some remarks upon Governor Troup of Georgia's letter about the Cherokee Indians, whom he was for extirpating, and he judged Mr. Crawford was of that opinion, because Mr. S. H. Smith, his neighbor, was so, and he thought of publishing these remarks. I told him I had no reason to believe Mr. Crawford was of Governor Troup's opinion on this subject, and I should advise him not to publish any remarks of that import. Williamson's bar-keeper came for my subscription to the dinner on the 5th, which I paid. Received a note from P. U. S. for a Cabinet meeting at one. Calhoun and Southard there. Letters from General La Fayette and James Brown. Discussion about the expenses of La Fayette's visit to this country. Best to do nothing upon it now. Brown mentions a letter from H. Middleton of $\frac{2d}{14th}$ May, saying he had concluded a satisfactory Convention on the Northwest Coast question. Blessed be God, if true!

13th. Watkins here. Gave him third article in reply to the National Intelligencer. Force, editor of the National Journal, has purchased the establishment of the Washington Republican, and commences a paper thrice a week; to be made hereafter, if possible, a daily paper.

15th. Mr. S. L. Southard, Secretary of the Navy, called upon me, and we had a long conversation upon various topics of public interest. He told me of the movements of his old colleague, Mr. Dickerson, since his return to New Jersey, and he thinks the only key to Dickerson's thoughts and actions is personal hostility to him—the jealousy of a younger man rising and supplanting him in political influence, power, and reputation.

17th. Fourth article in the National Intelligencer. Wrote a short and closing answer to it.

20th. I called on Mr. Somerville, at Williamson's Hotel, and

returned to him his manuscript address. He left the city at noon for Fredericksburg. I had a long conversation with him. A man by the name of Gregory came to the office—apparently a German Jew, but last from England; insane, and imploring protection from a universal conspiracy to poison him. Mr. Hay came, as he had promised, and seemed much excited at what he thinks a system of delusion with regard to the state of Mr. Crawford's health. He appeared to suppose it important that its real condition ought to be made known by newspaper discussion. But I observed that all the authentic and responsible information showed that he was almost well; that mere fact against authenticated proof would easily be discredited; that time must soon show whether Mr. Crawford is or is not getting well, and that little would be effected by argument in anticipation of events. We had much more conversation upon this and other subjects.

21st. At the office, Captain Jackson, commander of a late revenue cutter, came to complain that he had been discharged from the service without any complaint against him, merely because his vessel has been condemned as no longer sea-worthy. His lieutenant is in the same situation. He said Jones, the Chief Clerk of the Treasury, had done it of his own authority, and Dickins told him Mr. Crawford knew nothing of it. I called upon the Comptroller, Anderson, who said he would speak of it to the Secretary of the Treasury. He thought the officers could not be discharged merely because the vessel was condemned, and that another cutter ought to be stationed upon the coast of Louisiana. He told me that Mr. Crawford was very much better since he removed into the country, and that he believed he never would have recovered at the house where he had resided in the city.

22d. Mr. A. B. Woodward came in, repeating his application for the appointment to Guatemala, and conversing largely upon other subjects. Some papers of his, entitled "Considerations upon the Presidency, addressed to the individual citizen," are being published in the National Journal. They are speculative and historical, referring to past events, but bearing so much upon those of the present time that I told him he was treading

close upon warm ashes. Mr. G. Hay called to visit Mr. Everett, but he was out, and Mr. Hay conversed with me. He told me that Gales, of the Intelligencer, had been to the President, who had, with great severity, reproached him for the treacherous manner in which the newspaper has for a long time been managed. The President had not mentioned this to me, but Gales told Mr. Everett yesterday that he had been to the President, and was sorry to find him entertaining precisely the same impressions that I did.

29th. Mr. Addington called to make enquiries concerning the late extraordinary transactions in Portugal. I read him the accounts of them given in General Dearborn's dispatches. Commodore Rodgers called upon me with E. Wyer. I went out after dinner with Mr. Everett, and paid a visit to Mr. Crawford at his residence in the country. We found him convalescent, in cheerful spirits, and intending to go next week upon his excursion to Pennsylvania and New York. His articulation is still affected by a salivation not entirely passed off, but he appears otherwise quite well.

31st. At eleven o'clock I went with Mr. Everett to the President's, who half an hour afterwards received the deputations of Indians who have recently arrived in the city. They are of six tribes, among the most savage of the desert, part of them all but naked. They were Saukeys or Sturgeons, Musqukeys or Foxes, Piankeshaws or Miamies, Pah-a-geser Ioways, the people seem in a fog, Menomone or Wild Oats, Chippeways, and Nacatas or Siouxs, the amiable people. They speak five different languages, and the discourse between the President and them was rendered by as many interpreters. For the Sauks and Foxes there was a double interpretation —first into French, and thence into English. The President made a very short speech of welcome to them, which was answered with like brevity by a principal chief of each tribe. There were among them three squaws, and one female child five or six years old. In the speeches of the chiefs there was much gravity and painful earnestness. They were mostly painted red; but one chief had his whole face colored with yellow ochre. Mrs. Southard and Mrs. Wirt, with their daughters,

and old Mrs. Calhoun, were there as spectators, and many others—C. B. King, the painter, among the rest.

Messrs. Calhoun, Southard, and Wirt were present as members of the Administration, and attended, after the Indians were dismissed, a Cabinet meeting, at which the Convention signed by Mr. Middleton on the 17th of April, and others of his dispatches, were read. The President was well satisfied with the Convention, and expressed his full approbation of the conduct of Mr. Middleton in the negotiation of it. But it is to be passed upon by the Senate at their next session, and will have to encounter the same spirit which was at work against the Slave-Trade Convention. The confidential dispatch respecting the affairs of South America and of Greece was likewise read. Few remarks upon it were made. The President said he would read over the other papers, and confer with me concerning them next week.

Day. I rise between five and six, and, when the tide serves, swim between one and two hours in the Potomac. Breakfast about nine, then write or meditate or receive visitors till one or two. Attend at my office till six, then home to dine. Take an evening walk of half an hour, and from ten to eleven retire to bed. There are eight or ten newspapers of extensive circulation published in various parts of the Union acting in close concert with each other and pouring forth continual streams of slander upon my character and reputation, public and private. No falsehood is too broad, and no insinuation too base, for them, and a great portion of their calumnies are of a nature that no person could show or even assert their falsehood but myself. As the Presidential election approaches, numerous correspondents from every quarter write me letters professing good will, or enquiring of my opinions, from men most of them entirely unknown to me. I answer very few, and perhaps ought to answer none of them. Particular friends write to me by way of consultation and of anxiety; and they can seldom be answered with entire freedom. The result is a great waste of time and of mental occupation upon subjects personal to myself, to the necessary neglect of public business and detriment to the public service. I have no reason to hope to be

released from this state of trial for many months to come. To pass through it with a pure heart and a firm spirit is my duty and my prayer.

August 2d. I was at the President's; found with him Captain James Barron, who is to be employed as commander of the navy-yard at Philadelphia. I spoke to the President of instructions to be given to Mr. Brown, at Paris, with reference to a resolution of H. R. U. S. at the close of the last session of Congress. He directed a Cabinet meeting for to-morrow at one o'clock. The instructions to the Florida Land Title Commissioners occasion also much embarrassment—Mr. Worthington having declined to accept his appointment. Instructions are likewise to be sent to Mr. Middleton. The President is highly gratified with the Convention. But how it will be seen in the Senate is another affair. The President desired me to send immediately to the Secretary of the Navy a letter just received from T. Randall, at the Havanna, containing an account of recent piracies. I sent it accordingly. Mr. Southard goes upon his Northern tour to-morrow.

3d. Mr. G. Hay called at my house to tell me that the French Minister had arrived, and that, as the President was desirous of returning as soon as possible to Loudoun, it would suit his convenience if I could present the Minister to him to-morrow. Mr. Brent sent an intimation of this to the Count de Menou, who, in consequence, immediately sent a notification of the Minister's arrival, with a request that I would receive him, for which I appointed this day at half-past three. There was a Cabinet meeting at the President's at one. Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Wirt present. I had not been able to send a notification to Mr. Crawford, as the President had desired. The principal question was of instructions to be given to Mr. Brown for negotiation with France upon the claims of our citizens, and whether he should be authorized to connect with it a negotiation for indemnity to France on account of the eighth article of the Louisiana Convention. After much discussion, the President inclined to decide that we could not admit the blending of the two subjects, but deferred the decision till to-morrow, and requested me to notify Mr. Crawford of the meeting, and

request his attendance, if entirely convenient. Mr. R. Forrest afterwards offered to go out and take himself the notification to Mr. Crawford, which I requested him to do. Other subjects were also postponed till to-morrow. At half-past three, the Baron Durand de Mareuil came with the Count de Menou, and delivered to me the copy of his credential letter. He said he had also the answer to the notice of Mr. Gallatin's recall; and the notice of Baron Hyde de Neuville's recall. I informed him that the President would receive him at half-past one to-morrow.

4th. At one o'clock I presented to the President the Baron Durand de Mareuil, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from France. He delivered to the President his own letter of credence; the letter of notification of the recall of the Baron Hyde de Neuville, and the letter of recredence for Mr. Gallatin. The Baron made a very short address to the President, assuring him of the friendly dispositions of the King of France towards the United States, and of his own earnest desire to promote the good understanding between the two nations, which the President answered by assurances of reciprocal dispositions. He spoke also very kindly to the Count de Menou, who said he expected shortly to return to France, but hoped to pay his respects again to the President before his departure. The Count was much affected by the President's obliging expressions, and warmly manifested his gratitude.

The Cabinet meeting was not held. Mr. Crawford came in to the city, and was about an hour of the morning at the President's, and then returned home. He told the President he had postponed his departure for some days.

I received this morning from Antonio José Cañaz, Envoy Extraordinary from the United Provinces of the Centre of America, a notification of his arrival, and, as the President was extremely anxious to return to-morrow to Loudoun, he desired me, if possible, to get through the presentation of Mr. Cañaz this day. Returning to the office of the Department, I sent and requested him to call there immediately. It was so long before his lodgings were found, that when he came it was past four o'clock. He was accompanied by his Secretary of Legation, Mr. Valero. Neither of them speaks English, and Mr.

Valero only very little French. They showed me their commissions, of which I asked them to furnish me copies. I went with them immediately to the President, and presented them. Mr. Cañaz delivered his credential letter, but made no speech. The President assured him of the friendly feeling of the United States towards his country.

After an early dinner, I attended at the President's, where the deputations of Indians had their second conference. They were now all dressed in the clothing furnished them here. Short speeches were made again by them to the President, and by him to them in return. Medals were distributed to all the chiefs. Several of them earnestly pressed their wishes to be dismissed and to return home. Mrs. Adams and John were there; also Mr. Wirt's family; old Mrs. Calhoun and two of his children; the French Minister and Consul, and their families, and some others. The President gave the medals, suspending them over the necks of the chiefs. Presents were also made to the squaws and children. One of the Piankeshaws, who acted as interpreter from one dialect to another, was very ill with a high fever. Between eight and nine it was over. I asked the President's directions upon various points, but he was not prepared to give them. On returning home, I found Laborie at my house. He comes out as Secretary of Legation to the Baron de Mareuil.

5th. Swam an hour in the Potomac alone; but the morning was cool, and the remonstrances of my friends against the continuance of this practice will induce me to abandon it, perhaps altogether. Mr. Lemuel Sawyer, formerly a member of Congress, called upon me with a subscription-book for the publication of a tragedy in five acts, entitled the "Wreck of Honor," by him. He has already published a comedy in four acts, called "Blackbeard." At the office, A. B. Nones came, and took his commission as Consul at Maracaibo. The Count de Menou called to enquire if the list to be furnished of the Baron de Mareuil's Legation should include those who were of the French Legation before. I thought it should. The Count told me how much he had been affected by the kind expressions yesterday of the President to him.

Mr. Anderson, the Comptroller of the Treasury, was also this morning at my office, to enquire of the construction of the Act of Congress of February, 1823, concerning the commercial intercourse with the British Colonies in America. His question was, whether a British vessel from a Colony in North America could proceed to a Colony in the West Indies, and vice versa. I told him they could. He had also a question whether, in Massachusetts, a man could be held to bail on mesne process without an oath of the plaintiff to the debt. I said he could, unless the law had been lately changed. I had also much conversation with him upon the politics of former times, particularly of the Embargo of 1807. He was a member of the committee of the Senate which reported that bill.

7th. Mr. T. Findlay, of Baltimore, called again, and had a long conversation with me on the prospects of the election. He has conversed freely with Mr. Calhoun, and endeavored to impress upon him the necessity of union between his friends and those of General Jackson and mine. He says Calhoun cares nothing about the Vice-Presidency, but thinks it not yet time for Jackson to withdraw.

8th. Heard Mr. Little in the morning, from Luke xxi. 19: "In your patience possess ye your souls." A text to which I have often, and with the deepest earnestness of mind, had recourse. The sermon addressed itself to me not less forcibly than the text. Self-control in trying seasons is the most necessary of all properties, and never was it more needed for me in the whole course of my life—perhaps never near so much. In the afternoon I heard a discourse from Mr. , at Mr. Baker's, from Acts xxiv. 16: "And herein do I exercise myself, to have always a conscience void of offence toward God, and toward men." This also was a lesson of instruction, and I cannot have too many of them; but it was not so pungent as that of the morning.

9th. I received a letter from James Tallmadge, at Albany, where the New York Legislature, after a session of five days, were to adjourn on the 6th, leaving parties as much undecided as ever, and a victory claimed on both sides. The first number of the Daily National Journal came out this day—

very unexpectedly to me. Mr. Crawford left the city this morning.

12th. Walk with G. Hay, who afterwards passed an hour with me. He told me that the President had lately received an anonymous letter, in a disguised hand, and affecting false spelling, but undoubtedly from an able hand, advising him to dismiss all the members of his Administration except Mr. Crawford: Calhoun, because he is presumptuous and extravagant; Southard, to go and keep school in New Jersey; Wirt, because he is treacherous, and no real friend to Mr. Monroe; and me, because I despise his abilities. Hay said he did not consider Mr. Crawford a member of the Administration at all, and he persists in thinking his state of health desperate. This is prejudice.

16th. Mr. McLean, the Postmaster-General, called at my house this morning. He returned yesterday from his tour to Saratoga. He says that De Witt Clinton thinks the majority of the New York Legislature will choose a ticket of thirty-six electors who will vote for Mr. Crawford; that a number sufficient to make the majority will be bought with money, and that the same men might be bought with money for any purpose, and by any purchaser—even a foreign power. He said this distinctly to McLean himself. Now, De Witt Clinton ought well to know the people of New York and their Legislature. He has himself applied for his own advancement to the Presidency so much money as to have ruined his own fortunes. He has, therefore, no scruple against the use of money for that purpose, and has perhaps in former times bought some of the very individuals of whom he now speaks thus. I hope better things, and believe that corruption has not yet quite arrived at that pitch. That the Legislature of New York will *sell* the suffrage of the State I think more than probable, and must find satisfaction in the certainty that it will not be sold to me.

17th. At the office, the Baron de Tuyl, the Russian Minister, came to ask a question of etiquette: whether at the dinner at my house, to which he is invited, to-morrow, the Minister of Guatemala, as a new-comer, as well as the Baron de Mareuil, the French Minister, would take precedence of him. I said, No;

that the French Minister having first arrived, the dinner was given to him and to his lady; that the Minister from Guatemala, having afterwards arrived, would be of the party, but would not take precedence of any Minister of the same rank; that the only place at which there was any etiquette of foreign Ministers as to place was the President's; none at my house. And as the Minister from Guatemala speaks no French, and is not acquainted with Madame Durant St. André, I should request him (Baron Tuyl) to lead her to the dinner-table. He said in that case he would with pleasure attend, but otherwise should have desired to write me a note excusing himself, on the ground of a slight indisposition, from attending. All this was with many professions that neither he nor his Court cared anything about etiquette. General La Fayette arrived below New York Sunday morning—landed and spent the day at the Vice-President's, at Staten Island.

20th. Mr. Daniel Carroll, of Duddington, and Commodore Tingey, came as a sub-committee .from the corporation to enquire what arrangements the President had made, or proposed to make, for the reception of General La Fayette—so that those of the corporation might harmonize with them. I told them that I had not heard from the President since the General's arrival; that he had told me before, that he intended to invite him to reside while here at the Presidential House; and I advised them to go and confer with the President himself at Oakhill.

23d. Baron Tuyl, the Russian Minister, had written this morning to request an interview, and came at two o'clock, the hour appointed. He had received dispatches from his Government by the Count de Medem, whom he asked to introduce to me; for which I appointed two o'clock to-morrow. The Baron has received powers and instructions to treat concerning the indemnities to be allowed to the owners of the Pearl; but still with a protestation against the principle upon which they are demanded. The Baron expressed a strong apprehension of a possible opposition to the Convention in the Senate, which, he said, after the sacrifices made by the Emperor in the way of conciliation, would be extremely painful.

I told him I did not expect there would be opposition; but, if there should, its object will be here, and not in Russia.

He said he was aware of that; but that it would, nevertheless, not fail to be felt. He read me an extract from a dispatch upon the subject of the confidential communications between him and me of last winter. It expressed the satisfaction of the Emperor at the *conciliatory* disposition manifested by them on our part, notwithstanding our explicit avowal of opposite principles. The Baron read to me also a dispatch from Count Nesselrode of 20th May—1st June, explanatory of a certificate of good conduct which he had furnished L. Harris at his solicitation, and a copy of which was enclosed with the dispatch. The two papers were not of congenial purport; the dispatch speaking of Harris in terms very different from those of the certificate. I asked the Baron if he had any objection to furnishing me copies of both. He said the whole communication was confidential; that he would furnish me a copy of the certificate, but could not of the dispatch. But he allowed me to read it a second time, and, observing that I read it with much attention, he asked if I had any particular reason for it. I told him I had given depositions to be used in the lawsuit to which those papers referred; that my testimony had not been favorable to Mr. Harris, and that I had no doubt he had obtained this certificate with a view to its operating to discredit my testimony. The certificate is altogether in general terms, and states that Mr. Harris, in his conduct as a public Agent of the United States, had given entire satisfaction to the Russian Government; that he had been in part the founder of the relations between the two countries, and that he had obtained special marks of confidence from the predecessor of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Nesselrode. The dispatch states that in the lawsuit between Harris and Lewis, which had acquired a too deplorable celebrity, both parties had applied to the Russian Government for copies of official documents; that Mr. Harris, having arrived there, had been treated with the attentions due to a person who had previously held a public office under a foreign nation and discharged it to the satisfaction of the Emperor; but that with regard to his lawsuit and

his possible prevarications in reference to his own countrymen the Russian Government could consider him only as a private individual, and felt its duty to be to observe an entire impartiality between the parties; that when Mr. Harris had applied for copies of public documents he had been informed they could be furnished only upon the application of the Minister of the United States, and would, upon the same application, be furnished to the adverse party; that accordingly Mr. Middleton had applied for copies of documents for Mr. Lewis, which had been furnished; that Mr. Harris had been irritated at this, and, whether from vanity or from personal animosity, had not applied for his documents through Mr. Middleton; though if he had, they would have been furnished him. But he had solicited the certificate of good conduct, which, as relating to mere general considerations, it had been thought proper to give him; and the Baron was apprised of all these circumstances, that he might use them as occasion should require, if Mr. Harris should seek to give a particular coloring to the refusal to furnish copies of documents to him in any other manner than as they were furnished to Mr. Lewis. I told Baron Tuyl that Harris did not want the documents for which he applied, but wanted to avail himself of the refusal of them.

24th. At the office, Baron Tuyl came and introduced the Count de Medem to me, who also brought letters of warm recommendation from Mr. Poletica and from W. Lewis. The Baron told me Count Medem was also earnestly recommended to him from the Department of Foreign Affairs; that he was going on a tour to New York and Boston, and into Canada; and he asked letters for him—which I promised. The Baron brought me a copy of the certificate given by Count Nesselrode to L. Harris, and spoke again about the ratification of the Northwest Coast Convention, concerning which he is extremely anxious. He asked me if I thought it would be of use if he should write to Mr. Gallatin concerning it. I told him I thought not. If Mr. Gallatin should come here before the meeting of Congress, he might freely converse with him concerning it. But I did not apprehend any opposition to the Convention from Mr. Gallatin. Nor if he should write to him

would Mr. Gallatin interfere in its favor. He would answer him politely, and resort to commonplace remarks of his now being only a private citizen, and leave the Convention just as he found it. He said he would not write to him.

25th. Swam across the Potomac with John; Antoine crossing at the same time in a boat close at hand, to take us in had we met any insuperable difficulty. I was exactly an hour and a half from shore to shore. John was ten minutes less. We passed through thick grass in several places, but the tide was a spring tide at its full, and the water so high that we got through. We returned in the boat. Antoine swam about half the way back, but got so entangled in the weeds that he was obliged to get into the boat; but the water was not over his head. I landed, returning at the point at the mouth of the Tiber. We had been from home nearly four hours. The distance across the Potomac is upwards of a mile.

27th. Swam with Antoine to and from the bridge—the same as I had done yesterday; but this morning I was an hour and twenty-five minutes in going through the distance I had yesterday traversed in fifty minutes. This difference was owing to the different state of the tide, which was running this morning so much more rapidly than yesterday. Last summer, when the tides were so strong, I desisted from the attempt to reach the bridge, which I now find I can accomplish; but it takes as much time as crossing the river at full tide, and is more fatiguing.

Mr. McLean, the Postmaster-General, called at my house. I gave him a copy of my speech on the Louisiana Appropriation bill, 3d November, 1803. Dr. Watkins showed me a letter from a Mr. Brawner, one of the candidates as an elector of President and Vice-President in Maryland, which gives a particular account of the exertions making by the partisans, both of Mr. Crawford and of General Jackson, to slander me and run down my reputation. There is a common chime to the same purpose in all the presses devoted to Crawford, and in several devoted to Jackson. About fifteen newspapers in various parts of the United States, several of them daily papers, others printed twice or three times a week, are, and for the ensuing

four or five months at least will be, filled column upon column with everything that truth, misrepresentation, or falsehood can supply to defame and disgrace me. In passing through this ordeal, may the Spirit which has hitherto sustained me still be my staff and guide!

28th. Mr. McLean, the Postmaster-General, came, and introduced to me Judge McKee, of Kentucky, who brought me a letter of introduction from George Robertson. They have just gone through their elections, and the *relief* party have prevailed over the Court party; or, in other words, the debtors over the creditors. Among the rest, John Pope has lost his election to the State Legislature, and Rowan is to come into the Senate in the place of Talbot.

29th. I passed an hour of the morning with the President, conversing upon various subjects of public concernment—our relations with the European powers: Russia; Great Britain; France; those with South America, and upon the question whether appointments shall *now* be made to Buenos Ayres and Mexico, and an Agent to Guatemala, or whether they shall all be postponed. I told him the substance of my conversations lately with Baron Tuyl, at the purport of which he expressed much satisfaction. He approved particularly the observations I had made upon the Baron's *enquiry* whether it would be advisable for him to write to Mr. Gallatin concerning the Northwest Coast Convention. He said that he did not suppose that Mr. Gallatin would make any improper use of such a letter, but he would perhaps endeavor to turn it to his account; he would communicate it to his political friends and supporters, and then it would be under their control, and not his.

30th. Dr. Thornton had left with me yesterday an electioneering paper which he had written, and proposed to send and have distributed as handbills, to the number of fifteen hundred, in the State of New York. It was an argument against the election of Mr. Crawford as President, founded upon the violent papers of the Georgia delegation about the Cherokee Indians at the last session of Congress, and of the Governor of Georgia, Troup, then and since. Thornton's argument is,

from the character of these papers, to the danger of choosing a citizen of Georgia for President.

I told the Doctor that I wished he would not publish that paper, for it was within my knowledge that Mr. Crawford had disapproved of those papers of the Georgia delegation, and had endeavored to prevail upon them to take them back. I could, therefore, not approve of the publication of any paper which would represent Mr. Crawford as responsible for them.

The Doctor took away his paper, but brought it again this morning with an additional paragraph, stating that Mr. Crawford, as the writer had since preparing the paper been informed, had disapproved of the Georgia delegation remonstrances; and then proceeding with an argument that Mr. Crawford's disapprobation had not been sincere. I told the Doctor that this was worse than it had been before, and very strongly remonstrated against his making the publication at all.

Mr. G. B. English came again to urge the necessity of appointing him to go out immediately to Gibraltar to negotiate with the Capitan Pasha to save the American property at Smyrna from seizure and confiscation by the Turks in consequence of the subscriptions from the United States in aid of the Greeks. I referred him to the President.

At one o'clock I attended at the President's, and met Mr. Wirt there. The discussion was upon the propriety of making an immediate appointment of Ministers to Mexico and Buenos Ayres, and of an Agent to Guatemala; and concerning the appointment of a District Judge and District Attorney in Maryland. The President himself strongly inclined, and has certainly been urged, to make the appointments to South America; but I thought it would be best to wait until October, and perhaps even till the meeting of Congress, before making any of them. I said the effort made at the last session of Congress to reduce the missions to South America would certainly be renewed at the next, and probably with success. If Ministers should be now appointed, it was highly probable the appropriations to continue them would be denied, and then it would assume the appearance of a reduction achieved as a victory over the Administration.

The President said he had been ardently pressed to make the appointment to Mexico, on the argument that a Minister from the United States would ensure the failure of Yturbide's new imperial expedition, which would otherwise succeed. In this I had no faith, and the President determined finally to postpone all the appointments to those missions.

31st. Attended again at the President's at one o'clock, with Mr. Wirt. The President, after further consideration, finally concluded again to postpone the appointments for the missions to South America. Mr. Wirt gave much at large his opinion as to the appointments of District Judge and Attorney in Maryland. Purviance and Reverdy Johnson are his favorites, and, as he says, excellent lawyers. But Purviance is a federalist, and Johnson a very young man. The President again said that the object of his Administration had been to draw the parties of this country together and unite them all as one people; but that to effect this it was essential that he should proceed cautiously, and avoiding to shock the prejudices of his own party. He still left it undecided whom he should appoint.

Day. The distribution of my time differs not from that of the last month. The bitterness and violence of Presidential electioneering increase as the time advances. The uncertainty of the event continues as great as ever. It seems as if every liar and calumniator in the country was at work day and night to destroy my character. It does not surprise me, because I have seen the same species of ribaldry year after year heaped upon my father, and for a long time upon Washington. But it is impossible to be wholly insensible to this process while it is in operation. It distracts my attention from public business, and consumes precious time. I have finally concluded to take a month of holiday, to visit my father and dismiss care.

Boston, *September* 6th.—At about eleven we took a hack, and came out to my father's house at Quincy. The infirmities of age have much increased upon my father since I was here last year. His sight is so dim that he can neither write nor read. He cannot walk without aid, and his hearing is partially

affected. His memory yet remains strong, his judgment sound, and his interest in conversation considerable.

8th. QUINCY.—The remainder of this day I passed in conversation with my father. He bears his condition with fortitude, but is sensible to all its helplessness. His mind is still vigorous, but cannot dwell long upon any one subject. Articles of news and of political speculation in the newspapers are read to him, on which he remarks with sound discernment. He receives some letters, and dictates answers to them. In general the most remarkable circumstance of his present state is the total prostration of his physical powers, leaving his mental faculties scarcely impaired at all.

9th. I took a ride of about three miles with my father in his small carriage. Called at Mr. Marston's, and rode to the foot of Penn's Hill, by the houses where my father and myself were born. That of his nativity has within the last year, at his request, been painted white. General H. A. S. Dearborn came out from Boston for a committee of several persons who at a private meeting resolved to give me a great public dinner at Faneuil Hall. I desired General Dearborn to return my thanks to the meeting for the intended honor, and assure them of the grateful sense I entertain of their kindness, but to say that in the present agitation of the public mind, in the divisions of sentiment prevailing, and in the total uncertainty of their issue, this measure would probably increase the excitement, which should rather be allayed. It might have the aspect of a political expedient to make an ostentatious and equivocal exhibition of popularity, and perhaps even be represented as gotten up at my own desire for that purpose. That I begged, therefore, to decline this testimonial of their friendship, with the assurance that my sense of obligation to those by whom it was offered was as warm as if it had been accepted.

I went in to Boston with Mrs. Adams. Stopped on the way at Governor Eustis's, and had half an hour's conversation with him. He spoke of the Massachusetts claim upon the Government of the United States with great solicitude; and, thinking it just, I told him I should give it all the aid in my power. He spoke also of the electoral ticket in this State. A ticket was

nominated by the Republican members of the Legislature last June understood to be favorable to me. An opposition ticket has since been gotten up, at the head of which they have placed the names of Eustis and of the late Governor, Brooks. As this opposition has not been countenanced by either of them, they have been urged by their friends to decline publicly, and Eustis told me that they would. He said the only question was as to the time, and he believed that would be soon. His own opinion, he said, had been made up and declared two years ago; and it was well known not only here, but at New York and Albany. He would see Brooks, and they would decline about the same time, though perhaps not by a joint act.

15th. Quincy spoke to me confidentially respecting the state and prospects of my father's health. He wrote under my father's dictation his will, and is appointed joint executor of it with myself. I have not seen it. I have hope that my personal attentions may yet contribute to the comfort of his declining days, and with gratitude to Providence observe the still vigorous energies of his mind.

19th. I had a long conversation with Sprague on the subject of the Vice-Presidency. With regard to General Jackson, as the prospect now is that he will stand the highest on the list of candidates for the Presidency, it appears useless to sustain him for the second office. But as the Pennsylvania nomination, Jackson and Calhoun, is absolute proscription of New England, I advised Sprague that my friends here should bethink themselves twice before they lend their aid to any part of this inveterate exclusion of themselves.

20th. I walked in the burying-yard, and viewed the granite tombstones erected over the graves of my ancestors by my father. Henry Adams, the first of the family, who came from England; Joseph Adams, Sr., and Abigail Baxter, his wife; Joseph Adams, Jr., and Hannah Bass, his second wife; John Adams, Sr., my father's father, and Susannah Boylston, his wife. Four generations, of whom very little more is known than is recorded upon these stones. There are three succeeding generations of us now living. Pass another century, and we shall all be mouldering in the same dust, or resolved into

the same elements. Who then of our posterity shall visit this yard? And what shall he read engraved upon the stones? This is known only to the Creator of all. The record may be longer. May it be of as blameless lives!

22d. I came with Governor Eustis through Boston to Salem, and we stopped at the La Fayette, formerly called the Essex Coffee-House. On the road we had conversation upon various subjects, and the Governor told me many occurrences of his own history. He spoke with great bitterness of H. G. Otis, the rival candidate against himself last year for the office of Governor; and who, although he declined standing as a candidate this year, wrote a series of papers, just as the election was coming on, against Eustis, and in defence of the Hartford Convention. We had also some discussion upon the powers of the Congress of the United States to institute and establish a system of internal improvement by roads and canals. The Governor thinks Congress have not this power, and that the exercise of it will be pernicious, and perhaps fatal to the Union—upon all which points my opinion is the reverse of his; but we discussed the question with great coolness and good humor.

24th. This day we took our departure to return to Washington. I took leave of my father with a heavy and foreboding heart. Told him I should see him again next year.

30th. BORDENTOWN. *Day.*—The month has been consumed in a visit to my father and my home. The time surrendered to company, with a respite from all industry. I have sought, with some success, to escape from cares, and have written scarcely anything. I am returning with anxious and with no flattering anticipations to Washington, to finish my term of service, and to meet the fate to which I am destined by the Disposer, who

"Leads the willing, drags the backward on."

October 1st. At two o'clock we embarked in the steamboat, and at seven in the evening arrived at Philadelphia. On board the boat I met my old school-mate, Jesse Deane. He was the person who had yesterday accosted me from the wharf at New

York, with Mr. Mumford, and whom I did not then recognize. He was now accompanied by his daughter, Mrs. Alden, and her husband. The last time I had seen Mr. Deane was in August, 1785, at Hartford, which is also now his residence. We had a long conversation in the boat, and told over to each other the tales of our childhood, in the Boston frigate, and at the schools of Le Cœur and Pechigni.

2d. PHILADELPHIA.—Called this morning before breakfast again upon General La Fayette. He had not risen; but a few minutes after sent me word he was rising, and wished to see me. I went immediately, and found him in his bed-chamber, dressing. In his breakfast-chamber I met also his son, George Washington, and his Secretary, Mr. Le Vasseur. After breakfast, I went to Mr. Joseph R. Ingersoll's, and examined the depositions of Brüxner, Plessig and Cayley, of St. Petersburg, taken under a commission issued from the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania at the instance of Leavitt Harris, for the trial of his cause against W. D. Lewis. Harris has been between one and two years collecting these and many other depositions in Russia. John D. Lewis had written me several letters, that in the depositions of Brüxner, Plessig and Cayley there were abusive statements against me; and W. D. Lewis, who has also been collecting testimony in Russia, and who arrived in Boston the day after I last left there, wrote me a letter, which I received at New York, requesting me to see Mr. Ingersoll as I should pass through Philadelphia, and ascertain whether it would not be necessary to take another deposition from me. Mr. Ingersoll sent first to Mr. Binney, and then to Charles J. Ingersoll, who are of counsel for Harris, for the Russian depositions. They were sent to him, and I read over those of Brüxner, Plessig and Cayley. In my first and third depositions in this cause I had been under the necessity of mentioning transactions, in which these persons had been concerned with Harris, of a more than suspicious character. Harris took copies of my depositions with him to St. Petersburg, and these worthies saw what I had told of them. Neither of them denies any material fact stated by me, but Brüxner makes several base and malicious insinuations against me, boasts of my confidence in his house, and of

having transacted my private and pecuniary business at St. Petersburg; of their having bought and sold Russian stocks for me, and of my having given Mr. Campbell a letter of recommendation to the house when he went to Russia. The letter itself is annexed to Brüxner's deposition. Plessig and Cayley indulge themselves in angry invective against me, but shake none of the facts stated by me. Plessig, whom I had even avoided to name, admits the fact which deeply implicated him; and Cayley declares there was no collusion between him and Harris in the case of the Monticello, Captain Sall. After reading over the depositions, I explained to Mr. Ingersoll the facts to which Brüxner's malicious insinuations and misrepresentations applied, and told him that if it was desired I would give an additional explanatory deposition, or, if possible, I would come and give my testimony in open Court. This, Ingersoll said, would be exceedingly desirable. He said the trial would probably come on early in December. I said it would scarcely be possible that I should be able to leave Washington at that time; but if the trial should be postponed till next spring I should then, in all probability, have leisure to come.

At Hopkinson's, and on my return to Miss Shinn's, I received notices of several messages from Commodore Barron, commanding at the navy-yard, inviting my attendance there to meet General La Fayette; but it was too late for me to go. The General was received there with an address and a collation. I dined at Mr. Joseph R. Ingersoll's with Dr. Chapman. After dinner I intended to have visited John Sergeant; but Ingersoll sent to his house to enquire if he was at home. He was not. I went with Ingersoll and Chapman to the theatre, which is fitting up for the great ball to be given to General La Fayette next Monday. Met there G. M. Dallas; Strickland, the architect; Wood, the manager of the theatre; and some others. They have inscriptions and portraits and mottoes and painted scenery, and columns with the names of distinguished military officers of the Revolutionary War. I observed to Dallas that they had no naval names, and, as Philadelphians, ought not to have forgotten that of Biddle. I next went to Mr. Hopkinson's again, and there met Mrs. Chapman, with whom I

walked to General Cadwalader's. An evening party, at which General La Fayette, with his son and Mr. Le Vasseur, attended. The two Misses Wright, English maiden ladies, who have followed General La Fayette to this country, were also there. Mrs. Morris, widow of the late Robert Morris, Bishop White, the two daughters of the late Dr. Bollman, and many others, were of the company. I told General La Fayette that I should call on him to-morrow morning and introduce to him my old school-mate, Jesse Deane.

3d. I called this morning on General La Fayette with Mr. Deane, whom I introduced to him as my school-mate at Passy in 1778 and 1779; and Deane reminded him of his visit to us at the school at that time. I intended to have taken the boat for New Castle this day at noon, but Mr. Adams, of Baltimore, called on me this morning, having come from Baltimore last night. He left with me the Baltimore Patriot of the evening, in which was an article stating that the corporation of the City, having learnt that the Secretaries of State and of the Navy were on their way returning to Washington, had resolved to invite them to witness the reception of General La Fayette there next Thursday; and Mr. Adams earnestly urged me to accept this invitation. As I must pass through Baltimore, I thought the refusal of it would have the appearance of a slight, and concluded to accept it and remain here till Wednesday.

Mr. C. J. Ingersoll came and invited me to his pew at Christ Church, where General La Fayette was to attend public worship, and also to dine with him. But Mr. R. Peters, Jr., soon after brought me an invitation from his father to dine with him in company with General La Fayette, which, with Mr. Ingersoll's permission, I accepted. At Christ Church, the service was performed by Bishop White. His text was Psalm lxxiii. 25, 26: "Whom have I in heaven but thee? and there is none upon earth that I desire beside thee. My flesh and my heart faileth: but God is the strength of my heart, and my portion forever." It was a communion-day sermon; but the Bishop made no adaptation of any part of the service to the occasion of General La Fayette's presence. The house was crowded.

I wrote to the President, and enclosed the letter to Mr. D. Brent, to be forwarded by him to Loudoun. Went with R. Peters, Jr., and Dr. Jones, of Georgia, out to Judge Peters's, about four miles from the city, and dined. Dr. Jones was during part of a session, in 1807, a member of the Senate while I was there. He was appointed by the Executive of the State; but on the meeting of the Legislature, Mr. Crawford was chosen in his place. Dr. Jones sat in the Senate from the 26th of October to the 9th of December, 1807, since which I had not seen him, and did not now recollect his person. At Judge Peters's we met a Quaker named Kersey, said to be an eloquent preacher; but he went away before dinner. Judge Peters showed us in his garden a Spanish chestnut-tree, the nut of which was planted by President Washington just before his retirement from the Presidency. General La Fayette, his son, and Mr. Le Vasseur were of the party, and Mr. S. Breck, Mr. Forsyth, of Georgia, and some others. Miss Peters, the Judge's daughter, who keeps his house, was the only lady present. It was a cheering time. Judge Peters is upwards of fourscore years of age, in sound health, good spirits, and of conversation sparkling with wit and humor.

4th. I had invitations to attend in company with General La Fayette at his visitation of various public institutions of this city. Met him about ten this morning at that of the Deaf and Dumb. The teacher is a young man by the name of Wells, whom I had met last Friday in the steamboat. The performances of the pupils were very creditable, and their proficiency in knowledge and facility of comprehension was surprising. Thence we went to the Pennsylvania Hospital for Sick and Insane Persons. It is kept in excellent order. Among the lunatics was a man from Boston, by the name of Scott, who wished to see me, and sent me word that he had been President of the Phœnix Fire Club when I was a member of the society. I accordingly saw and spoke with him. He enquired after my father and family, and exhibited to me no token of insanity. He followed us round several of the apartments, and made some sensible remarks upon the picture by West, of Christ healing the sick. In passing through the apartments of the

sick, we saw one woman in bed, insensible, and apparently in her last moments. She died in the course of the day.

Our next visit was to the Penitentiary, the most remarkable incident of which was that they had the convicts drawn up in double line in the yard, through which we passed. Such a study of physiognomy I never before beheld. The varieties of impression which vice and guilty lives can produce upon the human countenance were never so exhibited to me. It was a thing to shudder at, and of which I had no conception. The contrast of desperation, malice, hatred, revenge, impudence, treachery, and scorn visible upon this collection of criminals was the more remarkable from the cheerfulness, kind feeling, and joy visible in the countenances of the people crowding about the General wherever he goes. We proceeded to the meeting of the Washington Benevolent Society, where General La Fayette was admitted as an honorary member, and addressed by their President, Mr. Milner. I had been cautioned by R. Peters, Jr., against attending at this ceremony, the society being, or having heretofore been, a political society of the most violent character, under the visor of benevolence. I could not, however, avoid accompanying the General; and there was nothing of an objectionable character in the performances. We next went to the Schuylkill Water-Works, and viewed the dam, the wheels, and the pipes for the ascent of the water, with the reservoir at the top of the hill. The General then visited the two Misses Bollman at Mr. Nickson's, their relation; then went to the new Penitentiary now building, and then to the Orphans' and Widows' Asylum, also a new building. The orphans sang a hymn while we were there. The General was everywhere cordially welcomed and enthusiastically greeted.

5th. Mr. John Vaughan called upon me, and I went with him to the Academy of the Fine Arts. Mr. Hopkinson, the President, delivered diplomas to General La Fayette and his son as honorary members. I met there Mrs. Meredith, and part of her family; thence went with Mr. Vaughan to the Athenæum, and thence to the State-House. General La Fayette was received in the Hall of Independence, so called from being that

where the Congress of the Confederation used to meet, and whence the Declaration of Independence issued. Its interior has, however, since been entirely altered. From the Hall, General La Fayette went upon the steps of the south front door of the State-House, where the children of the schools passed in review before him, two thousand two hundred and fifty girls and one thousand eight hundred boys—chiefly from seven to fourteen years of age. There were several addresses—numerous emblematic and mottoed banners—one song—and a speech in French, by General Cadwalader's son, a lad of about fourteen. Some of the teachers came up the steps and shook hands with the General, and many of the children, especially of the girls, succeeded, though against the previously-announced regulation, and in spite of much opposition, in obtaining the same favor. This procession took up nearly three hours, during which the General declined being seated, or covered even with an umbrella. He went thence to the University, but I did not accompany him. I paid a visit to Mr. Charles J. Ingersoll, and at four attended at the Washington Hall, at a dinner given by the Frenchmen and descendants from Frenchmen residing at Philadelphia to General La Fayette. The company consisted of nearly one hundred persons, several of whom were guests invited. Governor Schultze and Judge Peters were of the party. The toasts were characteristic of the company, and Mr. Plantou recited an ode in honor of the General. At eight in the evening he retired, and immediately left the city, proceeding on his tour, to the State of Delaware.

6th. At half-past eight we reached Frenchtown. The steamboat United States, Captain Trippe, was there in waiting for General La Fayette, with three committees from Baltimore to receive him—one from the City Corporation, one from the Militia Brigade, and one from the Society of the Cincinnati. There was another steamboat, in which the travellers from Philadelphia were to proceed as usual. Before alighting from the stage, I received an invitation from the committees to go with them and in company with General La Fayette. Feeling myself scarcely at liberty to decline this invitation, I recommended Mrs. Adams and the girls to the attention of Captain

Finch and Mr. B. O. Tayloe, and the boat, in which they were, immediately left the wharf. We waited there till one in the morning, when General La Fayette arrived with an escort from Delaware. Louis McLane made him a speech on the wharf at parting, and as soon as he came on board the boat he was addressed successively by Mr. Morris, as Chairman of the Baltimore Corporation Committee, by General Harper, for the Militia, and by General S. Smith, for the Cincinnati: to all which he returned short and appropriate answers. The boat then left the wharf: we had a light supper, and retired for the night. The ladies' cabin was appropriated for the General and his family; and, by his invitation, one of the berths in it was occupied by me. Among the persons who came from Baltimore to meet the General was Captain Dubois Martin, the officer who hired the vessel in which he came from France in the year 1777. He has been many years residing in Baltimore, is now eighty-two years of age, and within the last three years has married a young wife, and has a child. He is in circumstances not very prosperous, and told me the whole story of his engaging the Marquis to come over here, and of his hiring the vessel for him. The General himself also told it to me, not very differently.

7th. The night was fine, and we rose this morning in sight of North Point. We had barely time to breakfast when four steamboats crowded with passengers came down from the city to meet and escort the General. There was great shouting and cheering at the meeting, and we proceeded up the river with the four boats, two in front and two in rear of ours, and at equal distances. We landed in barges at Fort McHenry. The barge in which the General went, and in which I accompanied him, was rowed by six captains of merchant-vessels. At the fort, the General was received by Colonel Hindman, the commandant, in handsome military style. Colonel Jones, General Macomb, and Major Vandeventer were present. The tent used by General Washington during the Revolutionary War, borrowed from Mr. Custis, of Arlington, was spread there, and beneath it the General was met by Governor Stevens, of Maryland, who addressed him in a respectable speech, which

he answered with his customary felicity. Mr. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, one of the three surviving signers of the Declaration of Independence, Colonel John E. Howard, one of the highly distinguished officers of the Revolutionary War, and several other veterans of the same class, were there—all deeply affected by the scene, which was purely pathetic. After partaking of a collation in the tent, the procession for the General's entry into the city was formed; but, instead of joining it, I accepted a seat offered me by Mr. William Patterson in his private carriage, and he took me immediately to Barney's Tavern. There I found that a chamber had been reserved for Mr. Southard, the Secretary of the Navy, and me, but that he had gone on this morning to Washington, in company with Mrs. Adams, who was compelled to proceed, not having been able to find a room to lodge in at Baltimore. Mr. Barney, the keeper of the Fountain Inn, is a member of the Common Council, and went with me to the Council-chamber, at the Exchange. There I met Mr. Swan, of Alexandria, Colonel Grahame, of Frederick, Mr. McCulloch, the Collector of Baltimore, and many others, and witnessed the reception of General La Fayette by the Corporation of the city. The Mayor, about to go out of office, Edward Johnson, made him an address, which he briefly answered.

WASHINGTON, *November* 10th.—Cabinet meeting. Present W. H. Crawford, J. C. Calhoun, Samuel L. Southard, and J. Q. Adams. Subject of consideration, the Slave-Trade Convention with G. B. I read the dispatches, No. 11 and 12 of the separate series, from R. Rush, and my drafts of a public and of a secret and confidential dispatch to him; also a note from Mr. Addington, the British Chargé d'Affaires, announcing his receipt of a full power to conclude a new Convention, with the single addition of the words "of America" to that sanctioned by the Senate. The opinion was unanimous against acceding to the proposal for concluding a new Convention—at least for the present. Both my drafts were unanimously approved; the President objecting slightly to the word "unseemliness," and suggesting the use of *impropriety* in its stead. I altered the draft accordingly, having used the term unseemliness only

with reference to its having been used by Mr. Canning himself, though afterwards withdrawn.

Mr. Crawford told twice over the story of President Washington's having at an early period of his Administration gone to the Senate with a project of a treaty to be negotiated, and been present at their deliberations upon it. They debated it and proposed alterations, so that when Washington left the Senate-chamber he said he would be damned if he ever went there again. And ever since that time treaties have been negotiated by the Executive *before* submitting them to the consideration of the Senate.

The President said he had come into the Senate about eighteen months after the first organization of the present Government, and then heard that something like this had occurred.

Crawford then repeated the story, varying the words, so as to say that Washington *swore* he would never go to the Senate again.

Mr. Crawford and Mr. Calhoun both expressed themselves strongly upon the absurdity of Canning's two official notes, the second of which retains the argument, while it retracts as erroneous the allegation of facts upon which it was maintained in the first.

Calhoun noticed the tone of both the original and substituted note of Canning as offensive. In the original note there were three gross blunders. One of them remains in the substitute, besides the absurdity of an argument retained, with the facts upon which it was founded withdrawn. Rush says Canning had been ill with a fever, and Southard observed he had not recovered from it when he wrote the notes.

Mr. Crawford now for the first time spoke against the concession of the right of search, and said the very proposal of it was an insult, because it implied an admission that we were not competent or not trustworthy to execute our own laws. This reasoning is not sound in its application to the Slave-Trade Convention. The object is to capture *pirates;* and, without any distrust of our own Executive officers, we may give our aid and accept that of another for the more effectual execution of a law common to both. But the remarkable fact in this

case is the change of Mr. Crawford's opinion. When I stood almost alone in resisting the concession of the right of search, even before we had required as an indispensable preliminary that Britain should make the slave-trade piracy, Mr. Crawford, with two successive committees of the House of Representatives, was bearing down my resistance, and his partisans were using it as evidence that I was a friend to the slave trade. And now that his supporters in the Senate have taken ground against yielding the right of search, even for pirates, he joins in the cry with them, and discovers that the very proposal is an insult. To the argument in Addington's note urging that Great Britain, upon the faith of our ratifying the Convention, had, at our requisition, passed an Act declaring the slave-trade piracy, he said they might, if they pleased, repeal their Act. This is true, but it is not of itself a sufficient answer to their argument. I must have stronger ground.

Mr. Crawford enquired of the proceedings upon the Convention in the Senate, and said *he had not seen them.* It was observed that all the amendments in the Senate were moved by Mr. Josiah S. Johnston, a member from Louisiana. Mr. Calhoun particularly noticed in Mr. Canning's notes a menace that the British Government would henceforth negotiate with us nowhere but at Washington. I said that I supposed he would limit the expression of the sentiment to this particular negotiation; otherwise it would give us the material advantage of always treating at home. Calhoun said that might be the result, but the threat would not be the less offensive.

This was the first Cabinet meeting at which Mr. Crawford had attended since last April. His articulation is yet much affected, and his eyesight impaired. But his understanding remains, except with some deficiencies of memory and ignorance of very notorious facts, probably because he was many months unable to read with his own eyes. Mr. Rush's advice to send a frigate to the Columbia River was mentioned by the President. Mr. Crawford thought a military post there would be proper and sufficient. He was not for sending a colony or establishing a Territory there. He said he had last winter advised Dr. Floyd to change his plan from a Territory to a

military post, and the Doctor had told him he would. The President spoke of the information from Mr. Sturgis, that an establishment of a post sixty or seventy miles further north would be preferable to the mouth of Columbia River.

I gave the President my draft of minutes for the parts of his message relating to foreign affairs. He asked the other members of the Administration for theirs. I left with the President papers relating to the affair of Ducoudray Holstein, of whom he had directed a prosecution, and I questioned whether it was not barred by limitation. Mr. Southard thought the limitation of two years applied, and looked to the fifth volume of the Laws, article Crimes and Punishments, but the limitation section is there omitted. Mr. Southard spoke of several naval Courts-martial, and particularly of the one to be ordered for the trial of Captain Stewart. He was uncertain whether in the charges should be included that of violating the blockade declared by the Peruvian Government, inasmuch as we utterly deny the legality of that blockade in all its parts. I thought it desirable that the Court itself should explicitly decide its illegality; but, as the Judge Advocate must maintain its illegality, there seems an inconsistency in his introducing the violation of it among the charges. Southard says it was remarkable that Barton, a man named by Prevost as a witness that arms were landed from the Canton at Arica, under the protection of the Franklin's guns, had remained in the Pacific, and had purchased the Peruviano, a small vessel which Stewart had built, claimed and sold as his own property.

On leaving with the President my minutes for a message, I observed that, as this would be his last session message, perhaps he would think some *general* remarks upon the policy pursued towards foreign nations during the whole period of his Administration would be expedient. He concurred with the idea. I told him I had said little upon the subject of the Greeks; but he must determine whether he would communicate to Congress the proposal of their Agents at London, through Mr. Rush, that the United States should take them under their protection. The President desired me to send him his last year's annual message, his message on internal improvement,

and the report of the Committee of Foreign Relations of the House of Representatives at the last session of Congress on the Porto Rico piracies. I sent them accordingly, and left with him also the dispatch last received from H. Nelson, which includes a note in a very spirited tone to the Spanish Government.

13th. *Saturday.*—Cabinet meeting. Present W. H. Crawford, J. C. Calhoun, Samuel L. Southard, and J. Q. Adams. The question was, whether the District Attorney at New York should be instructed to commence a prosecution against L. Villaume Ducoudray Holstein, for fitting out, in August, 1822, an expedition against the Spanish island of Porto Rico. The opinion in favor of the prosecution was unanimous with the exception of mine. I was against it: first, because I considered it barred by the statute of limitations; secondly, because the parties have already been prosecuted for the same thing in the island of Curaçoa, where they suffered eighteen months' imprisonment, and were condemned to thirty years of the same punishment. This sentence was reversed by the King of the Netherlands, who substituted for it banishment from the island. And, thirdly, because it was a mere undertaking never carried into execution.

It was answered, that whether the statute of limitations applied or not was for the Court to determine. The President thought it would not; Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Southard, that it would. Mr. Crawford said that the prosecution at Curaçoa was not for an offence against *our* law, and that we had nothing to do with it, and that, although the expedition never landed at Porto Rico, the fitting out and preparing of it in our ports was a consummation of the offence against our law. Ducoudray himself wrote last April to the President soliciting his protection; and Baptis Irvine later, through Mr. Clay. There was a question whether these papers should be transmitted to the District Attorney as part of the evidence. Mr. Crawford thought they should be, and it was so determined. In his letter to the President, Ducoudray says he was one of the persons who attempted to liberate La Fayette from the castle of Olmutz; and he has recently published a biographical memoir of La Fayette.

Mr. Calhoun suggested that perhaps it would be well to postpone the prosecution till General La Fayette should return, and that he should be enquired of as to the facts of Ducoudray's being concerned in the attempt to liberate him.

I objected that I had no doubt the fact was so; that La Fayette would of course be kindly disposed to him, and would advise, if at all, against the prosecution. But if the prosecution was proper, it ought not to be omitted on account of any service heretofore rendered by Ducoudray to La Fayette.

Mr. Crawford concurred in this opinion; and it was determined that the District Attorney at New York should be immediately directed to commence the prosecution, and that all the papers containing the evidence should be sent to him, including those furnished by Ducoudray and Baptis Irvine themselves.

The President asked the other members of the Administration to furnish him with their minutes for the message. I had already given him mine. Mr. Calhoun said his would be shorter than they were last year, and a mere sequel to them. Mr. Southard said his would be shorter still.

I asked Mr. Crawford how the revenue had turned out. He said, very good—between seventeen and eighteen millions of impost, and about one million two hundred thousand dollars for lands. Four millions of seven per cents. have been purchased, and there are seven millions in the Treasury.

30th. *Tuesday.*—Cabinet meeting. Present W. H. Crawford, J. C. Calhoun, Samuel L. Southard, and J. Q. Adams. Draft of the message read by the President. His method of writing it is upon loose sheets of paper like Sibylline leaves—a separate sheet for each subject distinctly noticed in it. He receives minutes for it from each of the heads of Departments, but that from the Treasury has not yet been furnished him. Mr. Crawford intimated that it was because Mr. Calhoun had sent for his estimates back, to make some change in them, and that they had not been returned; but Mr. Calhoun said the alteration had been trifling, and that they had been returned the same day that he had sent for them. The message is very long. Southard said it had taken the President three-quarters

of an hour to read it. He has omitted the paragraph that he had prepared concerning the reconciliation of parties. I had told him that, as it was written, I thought it would not be received as conciliatory. Its purport was that there *had* been a party averse to our republican institutions, but that by experience they had become reconciled to them. I told him that the federal party, to which he alluded, did not admit this, but, on the contrary, complained of it as injustice that it had been imputed to them; that they had already complained of it as noticed in his published correspondence with General Jackson. It was his *opinion;* that he had avowed; but if his object was conciliation, I thought it would better be promoted by omitting the paragraph he had written than by inserting it.

He referred to it this day merely to say that he should leave it out. After reading it once through, he read it again by paragraphs. Mrs. Crawford in the mean time called in the carriage for her husband, and he went away. He said he did not see that any alteration was necessary in the draft as first read. On the second reading, however, there was much retrenchment and some alteration. Calhoun and Southard said it was a good, business-like message, and spoke in commendation of its style. As the *last* session message that the President is to deliver, it contains more matter of a general character than any of the preceding, and a summary review of the policy of the Administration throughout its career. There was no discussion upon any of the *topics* introduced into the message, and no diversity of opinion with regard to any of the recommendations in it. There never has been a period of more tranquillity at home and abroad since our existence as a nation than that which now prevails. But Mr. Calhoun objected to one expression in the message, which declared the agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial interests of the country to be in a flourishing condition. He said all the agriculture of the South was in a state of great depression—never greater. He wished the gratulatory tone of the message to be qualified. The President noticed one passage as favoring by *implication* the manufacturing interest, and said he was decidedly for the policy of favoring the manufactures. The paragraph respect-

ing Greece and South America was less energetic and vivid than that of the last year, but in the same spirit. That about General La Fayette distinctly recommended that some provision should be made for him by Congress.

December 2d. *Thursday.*—Cabinet meeting. Present J. Q. Adams, W. H. Crawford, J. C. Calhoun, and Samuel L. Southard. The President read drafts of two additional paragraphs for the message—one relating to claims of our citizens upon the European Governments of France, the Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark, and Naples, and the other concerning the piracies, still so annoying to our commerce, from the island of Cuba.

With regard to the claims, he said, as there had been a resolution of the House of Representatives at their last session concerning them, he thought it would be proper to notice them more particularly than he had done in his first draft. It was desirable especially to show to France that, however she might now refuse to negotiate upon the claims, we should not abandon them. If we once admitted her demand of connecting the negotiation for the claims with one upon her pretensions under the ninth article of the Louisiana Treaty, we concede the principle that one is a set-off for the other. The Cuba piracies had in some respects changed their character. They were now committed in boats from the shores, which no large vessel could pursue, and the pirates had accomplices on shore in the cities, to such an extent that Governor Vivés, although well disposed to suppress them, was overawed by their strength. Captain Randall, our Agent, has just returned from the Havanna, and urged the absolute necessity of some further measure for the protection of our commerce. The President said he had read to him the paragraph prepared, and now offered for consideration, and he had doubted only whether it was strong enough.

Mr. Crawford approved of the two new paragraphs. No objection was made to them by any other person present; but I observed if there was any necessity for such additions it might deserve consideration whether they should not be rather more pointed; that, under the general terms of the message as first drafted, Congress would take up the subjects noticed

in it according to their own views of them, and without special bias from the Executive; but if they were to be emphatically marked in the message, it might be expected that some specific measure should be recommended. I referred to the report of the Committee of Foreign Relations of the House of Representatives at their last session, relating to the piracies and the Porto Rico privateers, which declared that their only motive for forbearing to recommend reprisals and blockade was, to give time for the Executive to call upon the Spanish Government for reparation and remedy; and to the strong note of Mr. Nelson to the Spanish Government, founded upon that report. And, at Mr. Crawford's request, I read the concluding paragraph of the committee's report.

This led to some discussion; and I remarked that Commodore Porter was already authorized by his instructions to *land*, in cases of necessity, in fresh pursuit of the pirates. The President, Mr. Calhoun, and Mr. Southard all contested this fact upon recollection; as I persisted in mine, Mr. Southard went to the Department and brought the volume of instructions, upon reference to which, it was found as I had stated—the authority to land, however, being limited to the unsettled parts of the island.

Mr. Calhoun thought that the new paragraph for the message should *refer* to the proceedings at the last session; to Mr. Nelson's late remonstrance; and proceed as in pursuance of what has already been done.

The President did not decide whether he would now modify the paragraph or introduce it as it is.

Mr. Southard noticed that the report of the Committee of Foreign Relations, in glancing at reprisals and blockade, referred specially to the Porto Rico privateers, none of which are now out; and not to the Cuba piracies. But I replied that the report embraced references to *both;* and that although the privateers were put down, the denial of reparation for their spoliations was more signal on the part of Spain now than it had been at the last session—instancing particularly the condemnation of the James Lawrence at the Court of Appeal in Cuba. This was the strongest case of depredation that had

occurred—the one upon which Captain Randall had been first sent out. Yet, flagrant as it was, the vessel and cargo, which had been cleared in the original Court, have both been condemned at the Court of Appeal. There is yet an appeal to the King of Spain and the Council of the Indies. And there it is that measures of decision now recommended by the President and adopted by Congress would operate. Mr. Crawford told the President that he would send him the Treasury minutes for the message to-morrow. In answer to a question from Mr. Calhoun, he said the revenue from impost would amount to nineteen millions—from lands, to less than one. He said he had not received the copy of the Convention with Russia, which was sent to him yesterday.

3d. R. M. Johnson here. Presidential speculations; Clay or Crawford in the House; resentments against the caucus; thinks the dismission of Crawford from the Treasury will be made a test of voting with many members; Crawford's health; Scott, of Missouri's, remark, that he was more infirm than he had expected to find him. Preparing papers for Congress.

6th. *Monday.*—Baron Tuyl, the Russian Minister, wrote me a note requesting an immediate interview, in consequence of instructions received yesterday from his Court. He came, and, after intimating that he was under some embarrassment in executing his instructions, said that the Russian-American Company, upon learning the purport of the Northwest Coast Convention concluded last June by Mr. Middleton, were extremely dissatisfied (a jetée de hauts cris), and, by means of their influence, had prevailed upon his Government to send him these instructions upon two points. One was, that he should deliver, upon the exchange of the ratifications of the Convention, an explanatory note, purporting that the Russian Government did not understand that the Convention would give liberty to the citizens of the United States to trade on the coast of Siberia and the Aleutian Islands. The other was, to propose a modification of the Convention, by which our vessels should be prohibited from trading on the Northwest coast north of latitude 57°. With regard to the former of these points, he left with me a minute in writing.

I told him that we should be disposed to do everything to accommodate the views of his Government that was in our power, but that a modification of the Convention *could* be made no otherwise than by a new Convention, and that the construction of the Convention as concluded belonged to other Departments of the Government, for which the Executive had no authority to stipulate; that if on the exchange of the ratifications he should deliver to me a note of the purport of that which he now informally gave me, I should give him an answer of that import, namely, that the construction of treaties depending here upon the judiciary tribunals, the Executive Government, even if disposed to acquiesce in that of the Russian Government as announced by him, could not be binding upon the Courts, nor upon this nation. I added that the Convention would be submitted immediately to the Senate; that if anything affecting its construction, or, still more, modifying its meaning, were to be presented on the part of the Russian Government before, or at the exchange of, the ratifications, it must be laid before the Senate, and could have no other possible effect than of starting doubts, and perhaps hesitation, in that body, and of favoring the views of those, if such there were, who might wish to defeat the ratification itself of the Convention. This was an object of great solicitude to both Governments, not only for the adjustment of a difficult question which had arisen between them, but for the promotion of that harmony which was so much in the policy of the two countries, which might emphatically be termed natural friends to each other. If, therefore, he would permit me to suggest to him what I thought would be his best course, it would be to wait for the exchange of the ratifications, and make it purely and simply; that afterwards, if the instructions of his Government were imperative, he might present the note, to which I now informed him what would be in substance my answer. It necessarily could not be otherwise. But if his instructions left it discretionary with him, he would do still better to inform his Government of the state of things here, of the purport of our conference, and of what my answer must be if he should present the note. I believed his Court would then deem it best

that he should not present the note at all. Their apprehensions had been excited by an interest not very friendly to the good understanding between the United States and Russia. Our merchants would not go to trouble the Russians on the coast of Siberia, or north of the fifty-seventh degree of latitude, and it was wisest not to put such fancies into their heads. At least, the Imperial Government might wait to see the operation of the Convention before taking any further step, and I was confident they would hear no complaint resulting from it. If they should, then would be the time for adjusting the construction or negotiating a modification of the Convention; and whoever might be at the head of the Administration of the United States, he might be assured that every disposition would be cherished to remove all causes of dissatisfaction, and to accommodate the wishes and the just policy of the Emperor.

The Baron said that these ideas had occurred to himself; that he had made this application in pursuance of his instructions; but he was aware of the distribution of powers in our Constitution, and of the incompetency of the Executive to adjust such questions. He would therefore wait for the exchange of the ratifications without presenting his note, and reserve for future consideration whether to present it shortly afterwards, or to inform his Court of what he has done, and ask their further instructions upon what he shall definitively do on the subject. He therefore requested me to consider what had now passed between us as if it had not taken place (non avenu); to which I readily assented, assuring him, as I had done heretofore, that the President had the highest personal confidence in him, and in his exertions to foster the harmony between the two countries. I reported immediately to the President the substance of this conversation, and he concurred in the propriety of the Baron's final determination.

8th. R. King here about the reception of General La Fayette by Congress. Senate and H. R. in joint meeting. Speaker to address him. King's objections. Asks if P. U. S. should be invited to be present and make the address. I could not say. He spoke of the efforts yet making to bring over the dough-faces to the caucus. I said it was a feint. They must go back to

their constituents. The two Houses are to receive La Fayette separately.

9th. Dr. Thornton here on his projected mission to Guatemala. Visits from Messrs. Miller, McKean, and Thompson, of Pennsylvania, Dr. Watkins and Mr. Niles, of Baltimore, J. T. Johnson and Metcalf, of Kentucky, General Jackson and J. H. Eaton, Senators from Tennessee, General Call, delegate from Florida, and Messrs. Swan and Garrison, of New Jersey. Dr. Everett called from P. U. S. about papers relating to our intercourse with Spain, which should have gone with the message. Clerk of U. S. will not receive them without a special message. At the office, General Brown; about Calhoun. The movement in New England concerning the Vice-Presidency. I told Brown the facts.

10th. Visits from members of Congress—Mangum, of N. C., Letcher, of Kentucky, Wright and McLean, of Ohio, and Wood and Craig, of New York. With the ladies to the Capitol, and witnessed the public reception of General La Fayette by the House of Representatives. Mr. Clay, the Speaker's, address, and his answer. G. W. La Fayette's observation to me—what a glorious day for his father! I spoke to Fuller, and corrected a mistake I had made at our last conversation. Crowninshield told me Russell Freeman, the messenger who brought the Massachusetts electoral votes, came without a commission, and Gaillard, President of the Senate, has refused to receive them, but has received another copy of them by the mail. Rode home with the ladies. At the office, General Brown; his dissatisfaction with Calhoun; not flattered with the idea of having obtained the Vice-Presidency for him; intended explanations with him. I was frank and explicit. Received the Tunisian Treaty. At P. U. S. He spoke of Mr. Crawford's health with concern; of his annual Treasury report with anxiety, that it might contain views of fiscal concerns different from those of the message; said he had not obtained the Treasury returns till the Friday before the message was to be delivered; interviews between S. L. Gouverneur and A. Dickins. The President had also urged Anderson, the Comptroller, to *hasten* the Treasury returns, to avert surmises as to Mr. Crawford's health.

Gouverneur took the paragraphs of the message concerning the Treasury Department to Dickins, who approved them, but asked Gouverneur to take them to Mr. Crawford at his house and *read* them to him. Gouverneur declined, from delicacy. The President said that Crawford's *friends* had been very hostile to the Administration. He himself had disclaimed being so. The President thought he ought openly to have separated himself from them. But this was now over. He spoke much of the annual Treasury reports being made directly to Congress without being previously communicated to the President. He had spoken of this before, some years since, and of Hamilton's expedient to communicate directly with Congress. He said he remembered it from the time when he first came into the Senate.

11th. Visits from members of Congress. Of the Senate, Bell, of New Hampshire, Ruggles, of Ohio, and Mills, of Massachusetts. At the office, Barbour, of Virginia, King, of New York, and Edwards, of Connecticut. Members of H. R., Longfellow, of Maine, Plumer, of New Hampshire, Lathrop and Allen, of Massachusetts, Durfee, of Rhode Island, Jenkins, Hogeboom, and Tracy, of New York, Condict, of New Jersey, Udree, Wolf, Markley, and Forward, of Pennsylvania, Edwards and Saunders, of North Carolina, Livingston, of Louisiana, Sloane and Whittlesey, of Ohio, Wickliffe and F. Johnson, of Kentucky. All these I received, and several others called at the office before I went there, and others at my house while I was at the office. I met several on my way to the office, and among them Mr. Lloyd, of Massachusetts, with Mr. Russell Freeman, the bearer of the electoral votes from Massachusetts. He mentioned the refusal of the President of the Senate to receive the votes on account of his having no written commission to deliver them, and wished to deposit them for safe-keeping at the Department of State. I declined receiving them, and Mr. Lloyd told Freeman he might deposit them at the Branch Bank.

Barbour and King spoke of the Slave-Trade Convention. Senate embarrassed what to do. King's opinions upon the election. His good wishes and his apprehensions, all uncertainty. Tracy, on the same subject, did not tell me of his letter

from J. C. Spencer, representing the expediency that De Witt Clinton should be removed from New York and made a member of the Administration. Livingston brought me a letter, being a claim for slaves lost, which I told him would be too late.

12th. Visited the members of Congress lodging at Mr. Fletcher's, then R. M. Johnson and his brother, J. T. Johnson, from Kentucky, and lastly Mr. Clay, the Speaker, and Mr. Letcher, who lives with him. R. M. Johnson said he was waiting to see who should be the strongest candidate for the Presidency, to be of his side, and that he had recommended to J. Holmes and Van Buren to do the same. Letcher spoke to me much of the internal politics of Kentucky; of the convulsed interior of the State on the question about breaking the Judges for pronouncing the laws impairing the obligation of contracts unconstitutional; of the leading men in the State opposed to Mr. Clay, though professing to be his friends; of the sentiments of his own constituents upon the Presidential election, and their preference of a candidate next to Mr. Clay. He said it was rumored also that the Legislature would instruct the members from the State how to vote; but intimated that he should not consider himself bound by instructions from them. Mr. Clay came in, and spoke of the projected grant to General La Fayette; said the President had spoken of two hundred thousand dollars. His own minimum was one hundred thousand; his maximum, a hundred and fifty thousand and a township of land. Letcher said it would be hard for him to vote even for one hundred thousand dollars.

13th. A. H. Everett was here with a letter from R. Walsh, Jr., making enquiries which it will not be easy to answer. Visits from John Locke and Jeremiah Nelson, members from Massachusetts. At the office, Mr. Wirt and Mr. Swan, of Alexandria, called. Mr. Wirt had a claim for lost slaves, which was sent to him last week before the definitive list was sent in. But, being absent from home, he did not receive it, and now it is probably too late. I sent it, nevertheless, with that delivered me by E. Livingston, and two others received since the definitive list was sent to the Commissioners on the 8th, and enclosed them all in a letter to the Commissioners. Mr. Wirt

has been at Alexandria all last week, arguing the lottery cause against the corporation of Washington.

Visit to the Baron de Mareuil, French Minister. He spoke concerning two notes he has lately sent me concerning seamen deserters and a French vessel run down by the Grampus. He had much to say also upon the subject of etiquette, and suggested that he had written to his Court to ask instructions whether he should visit *all* the Senators of the United States. He referred to the question which had occurred between Count de Moustier and the Senators in 1789, and said he had understood that since then it had been a usage for the foreign Ministers to visit the Senators. But he doubted the propriety of the usage, to which there was nothing analogical in any European Court, and, without positively determining not to comply with it, he had thought proper to ask instructions from his Government concerning it.

I told him that it had been an invariable usage since the question first made by the Count de Moustier, and that the usage was much the same in Russia, where foreign Ministers were expected to visit by cards all the Court.

He seemed to think there was a distinction between the *Court* and members of the Legislature. He hinted also at some pretensions to precedency over heads of Departments at *their* houses.

Wyer at the office. Told of the duel yesterday between Bresson and Laborie, fought with small-swords, on the race-ground. I spent most of the evening with R. King at Williamson's. Called at G. Sullivan's, but he was not at home. General Brown was also this morning at my office; has seen and conversed with Mr. Calhoun, not entirely to his satisfaction; thinks he has been mistaken in Calhoun's motives and movements; urges the importance of a good understanding between Mr. Clinton's friends and mine; union of Northern interests; weakness, defeats, and disappointments of the North hitherto.

I told him I concurred generally in his opinions, and Mr. Clinton knew it. The only person to be convinced was Mr. Clinton himself. He was professing to be my friend and sup-

porter, but his friends had been, and still were, moving in a different direction. Brown hoped it was not so, and said he knew Clinton despised J. C. Spencer as an unprincipled man.

14th. Visits from J. Read, of Massachusetts, and W. Plumer, Jr., of New Hampshire, W. R. King, Senator, and G. Owen, Representative from Alabama; and at the office, Mr. Lloyd, of Massachusetts, General Mason, of Georgetown, Mr. Rankin, of Mississippi, with a Mr. Smith, whom he introduced, and Commodore Rodgers; also Mr. John Bailey, of Massachusetts, whose seat was vacated on the 18th of March last, and who took his seat yesterday, re-elected. Plumer mentioned to me a late conversation that he had with Webster, who is panting for the mission to London, and sounding Plumer's hopes and purposes. Webster is now gone with Ticknor on a visit to Mr. Jefferson. General Mason applied for papers in cases of certain claims rejected by the late Commissioner under the Florida Treaty. I told him I had no authority to deliver them unless by an Act of Congress requiring it.

Rodgers came to take leave. He has resigned his office as Commissioner of the Navy, and is going to command the squadron in the Mediterranean; to leave the city to-morrow, where the North Carolina line-of-battle ship is waiting for him. She is to come up Chesapeake Bay to Annapolis, or to the mouth of the Potomac, and the President, General La Fayette, and many members of Congress propose to visit her there. The Commodore invited me to go, and I promised to go if I could spare the time.

At P. U. S., he directed that G. B. English should go with Commodore Rodgers as Secretary and Interpreter in case of meeting with the Capitan Pasha. I spoke to the President of the duel between Bresson and Laborie, and suggested the question whether some notice of censure ought not to be taken of it by the Government; either to demand that they should be removed from the Legation, or at least omitted from the invitations of the President to the Diplomatic Corps to dine with him next week.

He said he would think of it.

I spoke also of the Baron de Mareuil's scruples of etiquette

and precedency, and told him what had passed between the Baron and me on the subject yesterday. Mrs. Adams had this evening her first alternate Tuesday evening party for the season. Attended by General La Fayette and his family, eight Senators, sixty members of the House of Representatives, and about one hundred and twenty others. General Brown told me that Mr. Southard would act efficiently, as I should see within a fortnight. Crowninshield, that Scott, of Missouri, had told him he was affronted at his recommendations for appointments in that State being slighted, and at some answer I had written to a letter from him. Tracy, that D. P. Cook, who has arrived here and taken his seat, had said he should vote for Jackson; he having pledged himself to vote according to the electoral vote of his State, which was two to one for Jackson, and Tracy apprehended that both the Clay and Crawford party would go for Jackson, and that the vote of New York itself in the House would follow for him. He thought the issue would depend much upon Southard and McLean, the Postmaster-General.

General La Fayette gave me to read from Appleton, our Secretary of Legation at Madrid, a letter enclosing one from Pisa, an aid-de-camp of Pepe, in prison at Madrid, and saved from execution by Appleton.

The Misses Wright[1] were here, and the eldest told me she had seen a friend of mine in London, who had often spoken of me—Mr. Jeremy Bentham.

15th. General Brown was here, and gave me to read a part of a letter from Ambrose Spencer, late Chief Justice of New York, who thinks he will be elected Senator from the State of New York with little opposition. Brown spoke in strong terms of Calhoun's duplicity to him, and repeated his wishes that there might be a good understanding between De Witt Clinton and me, and he intimated a desire that Mr. Clinton might be a member of the next Administration.

I told him again that, with regard to the motives which he

[1] Miss Frances Wright, afterwards known as Madame d'Arusmont, came with her sister with some view of joining the community set up on the plan of Mr. Owen, of Lanark. She afterwards became a voluminous writer on many of the social questions of the time.

urged, the only person to be convinced was Mr. Clinton himself; that as to the formation of an Administration, I had never thought the probability of my election sufficient to warrant me in thinking about it at all. If the case should occur, it must be considered with reference to a system comprising all the great public interests. I could not say how I should form my Administration, if I should have one to form; but Mr. Clinton already knew my opinion of his talents and services. It was for him to determine how far it might be for his interest to maintain towards me the attitude of a competitor, or otherwise.

Wyer came also to the office, and told me that he had it from good authority that Mr. Clay was much disposed to support me, if he could at the same time be useful to himself; and Wyer wished much to bring Mr. R. W. Meade and me to a good understanding. I had not time to listen to him. Mr. A. H. Everett went with me to the dinner at Dr. Staughton's. General La Fayette, Mr. Clay, James Barbour, and R. M. Johnson, Mr. Calhoun, and General Dearborn, were there. The President declined going. I had conversation at dinner with Mr. Clay.

16th. Morning visits from G. Plumer and R. Harris, of Pennsylvania, G. Moore, of Alabama, D. P. Cook, of Illinois, S. T. Vinton, of Ohio, and D. White, of Kentucky, and from George Sullivan. Cook has just come in from Illinois, and mentioned the result of the election of Presidential electors there. He says it leaves him at perfect liberty to vote in the House as he should think best for the public interest. Sullivan came to speak about the private concerns of the President, at the solicitation of Mrs. Hay, who represents his affairs as exceedingly disordered and distressed. Mrs. Hay is very anxious that persuasion should be used with the President to prevail upon him to present his claim to Congress immediately, and before they shall have decided upon the grant to be made to General La Fayette.

I said that the President's own plan, as he had last winter stated it to me, would be much better for his own interest; and that if it should just now be pushed forward it would occasion much animadversion unfavorable to him, and even to

his claim. Sullivan appeared to be convinced that my opinion was correct. He said the President's embarrassments were attributed by Mrs. Hay to his payment of much money for his brother Joseph, in England—say two thousand pounds sterling.

Cabinet meeting at the President's, on the subject of the Cuba piracies. There are three committees in each House of Congress occupied with the subject, and all wishing to know what measure the Executive proposes to take. Mr. Crawford, Mr. Calhoun, and Mr. Southard were present. The meeting was called at the request of Mr. Southard, upon consultation with the committee of the House upon naval affairs. Arming of merchant-vessels, issuing letters of marque and reprisal, and authorizing our officers to land in pursuit of the pirates, were the measures suggested for consideration. Some conversation upon the right of merchants to arm their vessels. The former laws relating to the subject looked into, but nothing definitively determined. Commodore Porter's letter respecting his recent landing at Porto Rico was read, and some commentaries were made upon it. The manner of attaching G. B. English to the squadron of Commodore Rogers was mentioned—as an interpreter—and I was requested to prepare instructions for Rodgers. The President directed the allowance of an old charge of Captain Jacob Jones for conveying J. Henry from the United States to Bermuda.

Wyer was at the office, and repeated his story about Clay, but could not give his author, and again announced his wish to reconcile Mr. Meade with me.

Mr. John Randolph called at my house this morning upon business; it was to enquire, as Chairman of the committee appointed to report upon the provision to be made for General La Fayette, if there was at the Department of State any evidence of his having at any time been in Spain, and there, at the request of the Government of the United States, rendered them a service by negotiation. I told him I would have search made at the Department, and furnish the committee with any evidence which might be found concerning it. I spoke of it to the President, who told me that R. Harrison, the First Auditor,

knew something of the General's visit to Madrid, having seen him there at the time. Randolph said the committee had thought it best that he should apply to me verbally.

17th. At the office. Visits from W. Kelly, Senator from Louisiana, Letcher, member of H. R. from Kentucky, and G. B. English. Letcher came ostensibly with a claim of an assistant to the Marshal of Kentucky for additional compensation for his service in taking the census of 1820. But his apparent main object was to talk about the Presidential election. The account was yesterday received of the choice of electors in Louisiana by the Legislature, from which it is rendered almost certain that three of the votes have been for General Jackson, probably four, and perhaps all five—but certainly none for Mr. Clay. This leaves Mr. Crawford with forty-one, and Mr. Clay with thirty-seven, electoral votes. Mr. Crawford, therefore, will, and Mr. Clay will not, be one of the three persons from whom the House of Representatives, voting by States, will be called to choose a President. Mr. Letcher is an intimate friend of Mr. Clay's, and lodges at the same house with him. He expects that after the result is known, that Mr. Clay cannot be voted for in the House, there will be meetings of the people in the several counties instructing their members to vote for Jackson, and perhaps that similar instructions will be sent on by their Legislature. These, he supposes, will be gotten up by what they call the *Relief* party in the politics of the State, and by men like Rowan, Barry, and Bibb, secondary leaders of the State, not daring to oppose Clay openly, on account of his own popularity in the State, but seizing upon the first opportunity afforded them indirectly to put him down. Letcher is evidently alarmed at this, and, in the midst of strong professions of independence, and of indifference about retaining his seat, is plainly not prepared to act definitively in opposition to the will of his constituents. He intimated that the Relief party were in fact hostile to Mr. Clay; that of the Kentucky delegation here, a large portion were warmly attached to him; that lately, speaking of what might ensue here, he had expressed the wish to go in harmony with his friends—which Letcher said he interpreted as a wish that his friends would

go in harmony with him. Colonel R. M. Johnson, Letcher thinks, is warmly of the Relief party, and as to the Presidency, determined to be at all events on the strongest side. I observed to Letcher that Colonel R. M. had candidly told me so himself.

Letcher wished to know what my sentiments towards Clay were, and I told him without disguise that I harbored no hostility against him; that whatever of difference there had been between us had arisen altogether from him, and not from me. I adverted to Jonathan Russell's attack upon me, which, I said, I believed Mr. Clay had been privy to and countenanced. But, having completely repelled that attack, I felt no animosity against any person concerned in it.

Letcher said Clay's friends thought he had been wrong in his letter against me concerning that affair. It was written in a moment of excitement. He was sure Clay felt now no hostility to me. He had spoken respectfully of me, and was a man of sincerity. Of the fourteen electors of Kentucky, seven voted for Calhoun as Vice-President; and this vote I thought, and Letcher fully concurred in the opinion, was more hostile to Clay than any vote for Jackson as President could be. It held up Calhoun as a future competitor against Clay, and thereby postponed all his prospects indefinitely. The drift of all Letcher's discourse was much the same as Wyer had told me, that Clay would willingly support me if he could thereby serve himself, and the substance of his *meaning* was, that if Clay's friends could *know* that he would have a prominent share in the Administration, that might induce them to vote for me, even in the face of instructions. But Letcher did not profess to have any authority from Clay for what he said, and he made no definite propositions. He spoke of his interview with me as altogether confidential, and in my answers to him I spoke in mere general terms.

Kelly's talk was chiefly about the last winter's caucus and the hopeless prospects of Mr. Crawford.

I told G. B. English that the President had determined he should go with Commodore Rodgers in the capacity of interpreter and entirely under his directions; with which he declared

himself fully satisfied. He is to receive his instructions next week.

18th. Baron Tuyl came to enquire concerning an invitation to dine with the President next Wednesday, and whether he should have precedence over the Ministers from South America. I spoke of it to the President. As there is no other of the South American Ministers now here but Mr. Salazar, from the republic of Colombia, no question of Baron Tuyl's precedence can arise. Reed came to say that he wished to come with General McArthur[1] to visit me; and Tomlinson, to inform me of Mr. and Mrs. McKean's not having received an invitation to Mrs. Adams's Tuesday evenings. The evening conversation with J. W. Taylor was confidential, and I asked him what were Tracy's[2] particular views. He said, entirely friendly. He also told me that De Witt Clinton had told him explicitly at the late session of the New York Legislature that he was in favor of the election of General Jackson as President.

19th. I called at Dowson's, No. 2, and delivered to Mr. John Randolph the copies of papers from the documents in the Department of State relating to General La Fayette's visit in 1782 and 1783 at Madrid, and his services to the United States there. Saw there Messrs. Macon and Saunders, of North Carolina. Thence went to Queen's Hotel, and saw Mr. Jennings, of Indiana, about the printers of the laws in that State. After a full conversation with him, I determined upon the appointments, and told him how I should make them; with which he appeared to be satisfied. I visited the members of the Tennessee delegation at Mrs. Claxton's, and Colonel Dwight, Mr. and Mrs. Baylies, Colonel and Mrs. Wool, &c., at Coyle's. There met Colonel Bomford, who walked homewards with me. Left cards at Williamson's for Colonel Hayne and Major Hamilton, of South Carolina. Returned home and received the mail. Dined with Dr. Watkins, with Mr. Clay, Mr. Southard, Mr. McCall, Captain Kuhn, Commodore Chauncey, and Mr. Meade. After dinner I visited, with Mr. Southard, Messrs. Wood, Craig, and Frost, of the New York delegation, at Mrs

[1] Duncan McArthur, Representative from Ohio during this Congress.

[2] Albert H. Tracy, Representative from New York from 1819 to 1825.

McCardle's. I then called on Mr. Lloyd, of Massachusetts, at Mrs. Hickey's, and met there Colonel Trumbull. When I came home, I found General Dearborn, General Wingate, and Mr. and Mrs. Everett here. Everett[1] had sent me, to read, a paper which he had written concerning the prospects of the Presidential election, containing much speculation and some errors of fact. I returned it to him, and told him I would make some remarks upon it to-morrow morning if he would call at my house—which he promised.

20th. The Baron de Mareuil, the French Minister, came with a copy of his new credential letter from King Charles the Tenth, and requesting an audience of the President to deliver it. He said he had received an answer from his Government upon an observation I had made him upon the superscription and address of his first credential letter, which was, "To the President and members of the Congress of the United States" —a style used under the Congress of the Confederation, but unsuitable to our present Constitution, by which there is no President of Congress, and no communication between the members of Congress and foreign Powers. He said the Baron de Damas, Minister of Foreign Affairs, had written to him that the subject would be examined into.

I told him it was a matter of no consequence. He said he was instructed to speak of the conduct of the Consul of the United States at Tangier, who had received with some ostentation the fugitives from a late abortive attempt upon Tarifa. I said I had heard nothing of this before. He asked whether it might not be a proper occasion for him to present the persons attached to the French Legation to the President upon the delivery of the credential letter.

I told him it had been usual for Ministers to present their Secretaries of Legation, but that other persons attached to foreign missions were usually introduced at the drawing-rooms. I added, however, that I would mention his wish to the President, and take his directions concerning it. Evening at home, writing. I met this morning Commodore Stewart, upon whom

[1] Alexander H. Everett, already mentioned in the earlier part of this work as having accompanied Mr. Adams to Russia.

a Court-martial is ordered; and he is suspended from service until the trial. The charges are very serious, and relate to his transactions in the Pacific during his late command there.

21st. I was at the President's with various dispatches, two of which received from James Brown, our Minister at Paris. He determined to receive the Baron de Mareuil to deliver his credential letter to-morrow. As to the proposal that he should present all the persons attached to the mission, the question recurred whether any notice should be taken of the late duel between De Bresson and Laborie, the second and third Secretaries of the French Legation. The President sent for the members of the Administration. Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Southard came. After some consideration it was determined to overlook this transaction, and that all the members of the Legation should be presented to the President, but that I should mention it to the Baron de Mareuil, and state that the affair would remain unnoticed merely out of regard to the French Government.

22d. Visit from Mr. James Barbour, Senator from Virginia, with whom I had a confidential conversation of more than two hours upon the prospects of the Presidential election. He spoke at first of papers relating to the piracies, which I had sent him as Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations of the Senate, and for copies of which there is now a call by resolution of that body. He soon, however, introduced the other topic, and freely stated to me his own impressions, and what he believed to be those of a majority of the Virginia delegation in the House of Representatives. Their first choice had been Mr. Crawford. The electors of the State had voted for him, and a majority of the people of the State were favorable to him. The representation of the State in the House would vote at first for him, and adhere to him as long as they could hope for success; but, if they should find that impracticable, their next preference would be for me. He had no doubt this was the feeling of the people of the State; that I was much more popular there than General Jackson, or even than Mr. Clay, though he was one of their own natives. He said he thought it would be treason to the Constitution to hold out and prevent an election by the House until the 4th of March,

so as to give the actual Presidency to the Vice-President. He asked if I thought my friends in the House would not, if they must make a choice, prefer Mr. Crawford to General Jackson. I said I believed they would not make an option, but would adhere to me until they should obtain a majority of States, or that one should be made against them. He said something about a moral majority of votes in New York for Mr. Crawford; but he did not press much this argument, nor did I think it deserved waste of time in refuting it. He spoke of my letter jointly with Mr. Calhoun, Mr. McLean, and Mr. Wirt, relative to the 5th of July dinner, as having produced an impression against me very strong in Virginia, by its appearance as if I had joined in a combination against Mr. Crawford. I gave him the same explanation of that event as I had already given to A. Dickins—assuring him that I had on that occasion not acted in hostility to Mr. Crawford, but to avoid being made to partake in a public insult to Mr. Edwards. I said that if it was to do over again, I thought I should do the same. I had been placed in a difficult situation, and, if I had erred, it had been an error of judgment, and not of intention hostile to Mr. Crawford.

He then, passing to matters of greater importance, enquired of my sentiments concerning the tariff and internal improvements, which I gave him with perfect candor. I said that the ultimate principle of my system with reference to the great interests of the country was *conciliation*, and not *collision*. I was satisfied with the tariff as now established, and should, if any change in it should be desired, incline rather to reduce than to increase it. There was, in my opinion, no constitutional question involved in the discussion. The revenue was abundant, and the protection to manufactures adequate to their fair claims for support; and if the tariff should be found to bear hard upon the agricultural and commercial interests, I should incline to an alleviation of it in their favor. As to internal improvements, my opinions had been published in most of the newspapers, in extracts of letters from me, and had no doubt been seen by him. Since the Act of Congress establishing the Cumberland Road, there had been no constitutional question worth disputing about involved in the discussion. It was cer-

tainly a great power to be exercised by Congress, and perhaps liable to great abuses. So were all the other great powers of Congress; and the control over it was in the organization of the Government, the elective franchise, the State authorities, and the good sense and firmness of the people. Upon these subjects we had much discourse, and he left me with the impression that the interview had been entirely satisfactory to him.

It was then one o'clock, at which time the President had intended to receive the Baron de Mareuil, but I had not been able to give him notice of it. I called, therefore, at the President's, and he postponed the Baron's audience till to-morrow at one. Dined at the President's with the Diplomatic Corps, several members of Congress, and others. General S. Smith, of Maryland, spoke to me with great approbation of the documents relating to the Northwest Coast Convention with Russia, now before the Senate. He said he thought my answer to G. Canning's last note upon the Slave-Trade Convention was hardly high-toned enough. I told him of the additional secret instruction to Rush. Evening with the ladies at Commodore Tingey's. Met General La Fayette there. He had not dined at the President's, on account of the Corps.

23d. At one o'clock I presented the Baron de Mareuil to the President, and he delivered his credential letter from Charles the Tenth, the new King of France. He also introduced the Count de Ganay and Mr. Sontag to the President. He made a short speech, of which he gave me a copy, requesting the substance of the President's answer also in writing.

R. P. Letcher had a long conversation with me upon the subject which he had broached the other day. The object appeared to me to be to convince me of the importance of obtaining an election in the House of Representatives at the first ballot, and that it would be obtainable by securing the votes of the States of Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and Louisiana. I told him candidly that, however desirable this might be, it would be utterly impracticable, and that I had no expectation of receiving the vote of his own State of Kentucky. He seemed anxious to convince me that I *might* receive it, and enumerated the whole delegation, stating how

each of them was now disposed—a majority of them being *uncommitted*. I consider Letcher as moving for Mr. Clay; and this anxiety of a friend of Clay's, that I should obtain the election at the first ballot in the House, is among the whimsical results of political combination at this time—"Incedo super ignes."

Our company to dinner were Messrs. Clay and Calhoun; Senators Knight and Van Buren; members of H. R., Burleigh, Fuller, Letcher, Livingston, McLane, Morgan, Swan, Tomlinson, Tracy, Tucker, of Virginia, and Udree. Mr. Babcock, Russell Freeman, McCall, and Trumbull, Messrs. Brown and Elliott, Senators, and Hemphill, Hooke, Owen, and Tatnall, had been invited, but did not come. Tracy's conversation with me was confidential. He thinks the vote of New York in the House very doubtful; counts upon seven for Jackson, and fourteen, in the first instance, for Crawford.

24th. There was a Cabinet meeting, attended by Messrs. Crawford, Calhoun, and Southard, upon Commodore Porter's descent upon the island of Porto Rico, and Captain Creighton's correspondence at Naples. I dined with Baron Tuyl, the Russian Minister, it being the Emperor of Russia's birthday; and attended a ball at Mr. Calhoun's. Plumer mentioned to me conversations which he has had with Webster since his return from Virginia, and with Louis McLane, the member of the House from Delaware. Webster's information referred to the opinions of Mr. Jefferson upon the principal political topic of the time. McLane's disclose the chief motives to his conduct, and his own apprehensions in eventual contingencies. Tracy consulted me with reference to his being supported as a candidate for the Senate from New York, in the place of R. King. Ambrose Spencer will in all probability be chosen.

The Cabinet meeting was remarkable. Porter's descent upon Porto Rico was a direct hostile invasion of the island, utterly unjustifiable. The question was, whether he should be immediately recalled and tried, or merely be written to by the Secretary of the Navy, with a demand of immediate explanation. The President inclined to immediate recall; Mr. Crawford, Mr. Calhoun, and Mr. Southard, merely to ask explanations.

I concurred with the President, with a view to discussion.

And, in assigning my reasons, observing that it was one of the most high-handed acts that I had ever heard of, Mr. Crawford, with strong excitement, said that General Jackson's proceedings in Florida had been ten times worse. I barely replied that I did not think it a proper occasion for discussing the proceedings of General Jackson in Florida.

It was at last concluded that Mr. Southard should prepare a letter to Porter, upon which the President would determine what to do. There were several exceptionable things in the conduct of Creighton, and a formal complaint against him by the Neapolitan Government. There was a strong disposition to recall him, the propriety of which, however, I questioned. This also was left undecided.

The dinner at Baron Tuyl's was, as usual on this occasion, diplomatic and formal. Mr. Gaillard, President of the Senate, and Mr. Clay, Speaker of the House of Representatives, were there. At Mr. Calhoun's, Mr. Lloyd, of Massachusetts, spoke to me of the Northwest Coast Convention with Russia as if he intended to oppose it in the Senate.

25th. I this day received a letter from Mr. James Lloyd, a Senator from Massachusetts, respecting the Northwest Coast Convention, against which he urges objections, and requests answers at my convenience.

26th. I called upon Mr. Lloyd, of Massachusetts, and had some conversation with him upon the Northwest Coast Convention, his objections to which I could not entirely remove. He thought its effect would be to deprive us of the fur trade with the Indians north of latitude 51°, and throw it all into the hands of the British; and that by inference from the article which authorizes trade for ten years to the citizens and subjects of each party within the boundary assigned to the other, the right of exclusion after the ten years must be admitted.

I did not think this a necessary consequence. And I observed that in all our negotiations upon this subject our interest was to gain time; for in the natural course of events we must outgrow all the obstacles which European powers are so desirous of opposing to us. I mentioned to him the unsuccessful result of Mr. Rush's late negotiation in England, and

said I should send Mr. Rush's voluminous report of it to the Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations of the Senate, from whom he could have the perusal of it. I said I thought the establishment of the military post on the Northwest coast, recommended by the President in his message, and for which a bill has passed the House and is now before the Senate, an important and necessary measure. He said he thought so too, and should vote for the bill. We were interrupted by visitors, and parted with intention of resuming the conversation hereafter.

28th. Call at the President's. He told me he had ordered the recall of Commodore Porter, and read to me the message prepared to send to the House of Representatives, in answer to a call for information respecting Porter's descent upon Porto Rico.

29th. Morning visitors, Messrs. Letcher, Rankin, Tomlinson, with a Mr. Skinner, from Connecticut, Plumer, A. H. Everett, General S. Smith, and Judge Thompson, of the Supreme Court. Letcher spoke with the utmost confidence of the vote of Kentucky in the House of Representatives, though he expected instructions from the Legislature of the State to vote for Jackson.

Plumer had conversed with L. McLane, who told him he had no objection to his informing me of what he had said to him before. But he strongly disclaimed all purpose of bargaining.

General Smith showed me a paragraph of a letter from Christopher Hughes, at Stockholm, about the claims on Sweden and Denmark, upon which the President had desired him to confer with me.

The Baron de Mareuil wished to know at what time on New Year's day to go to the President's, to escape the crowd. I told him about noon.

Baron Tuyl brought a paper containing the purport of my remarks at our former conference upon the Slave-Trade Convention. It was erroneous in one particular, which I pointed out to him. He left the paper with me. We had much further conversation upon the Convention, and I told him of the objections which might be made to the Convention in the Senate;

upon which he appeared to be vehemently affected, and intimated that he did not know what might be the consequence of the Convention being sent back unratified. Evening at home, unwell with a severe rheumatism and hoarse cold, so that I cannot record the details of this important conference with Baron Tuyl.

31st. At one o'clock I presented to the President Mr. Obregon, the Mexican Minister, who delivered the letter from the President of the Mexican republic, announcing the establishment of the Constitution, and the election of him, Guadalupe Victoria, as President, and Nicholas Bravo as Vice-President. Mr. Montoya, the Secretary of the Legation, was with the Minister. Mr. Obregon delivered the letter without making any address, and the President only said it was an event the communication of which he received with great satisfaction. The audience lasted not more than five minutes. The President, to determine upon attending at the dinner to be given by the members of Congress to La Fayette, to-morrow. I advised him to go. Mr. Hay was with him. Wyer came to talk about Scott, of Missouri, and his hostility to me.

January 1st, 1825. *Saturday.*—Mr. H. Humphreys called upon me for a subscription to a Methodist Episcopalian church at Bridgeport, Connecticut. Richard Forrest brought me, to authenticate, an Act of Congress granting to General La Fayette a sum of two hundred thousand dollars and a township of land. A joint committee of the two Houses were appointed to communicate to him this Act and ask his acceptance of the grant, and they presented him the authenticated copy of the Act this morning.

Mr. Southard, the Secretary of the Navy, called to make some enquiries on business, and told me he should not attend at the dinner. He has recently lost a child.

At noon I went to the President's drawing-room, which was much crowded. Mrs. Adams, being quite unwell, did not go. I presented to the President, with Mr. Rebello, the Brazilian Chargé d'Affaires, Mr. Oliveira, Secretary of Legation, whom he had yesterday introduced to me at the Department of State. Robert P. Letcher, a member of the House of Representatives

from Kentucky, asked me if I should go to the Department after the drawing-room. I said I should. He said he would call there, and did. He told me he had received from home many letters lately, and several this morning; that the members of the Kentucky Legislature would, in their private capacities, and not by Legislative Act, recommend to the members from the State in the House to vote for General Jackson as President, and popular meetings to pass similar resolutions had been, and would be, got up. But I might rely upon it they would have no effect. The vote of Kentucky in the House was fixed and unalterable. He spoke of the difference between Mr. Clay and me as giving concern to some of the members of the delegation, and intimated a wish that I should have some conversation with Mr. Clay upon the subject. I told him I would very readily, and whenever it might suit the convenience of Mr. Clay. I merely read the dispatches and letters that came by the mail, and signed a few official papers at the office.

I attended the dinner given by the members of both Houses of Congress to General La Fayette, at Williamson's Hotel. It was attended also by the President. About one hundred and fifty members of the two Houses were present, and about thirty officers of the Government—civil and military. There were sixteen regular toasts, after which the President, General La Fayette, and most of the invited guests retired to the rooms of Colonel Hayne and Mr. Livingston, where they took coffee with Mrs. Hayne, Mrs. Livingston, Mrs. Ticknor, and Miss Gardner. I came home about nine in the evening, and our family party soon after retired. A storm of rain, afterwards turning to snow, continued through the day. The President's Administration was toasted, to which he answered by a short address of thanks. General La Fayette answered also very briefly the toast to himself. Mr. Clay made a speech about Bolivar and the cause of South America, and seemed very desirous of eliciting speeches from me and Mr. Calhoun. He told me that he should be glad to have with me soon some confidential conversation upon public affairs. I said I should be happy to have it whenever it might suit his convenience.

At the beginning of this year there is in my prospects and anticipations a solemnity and moment never before experienced, and to which unaided nature is inadequate.

2d. Visit from Mr. George Hay, lately returned from a long visit to Richmond. He says they are talking there of Madison's report of 1798 as if they belonged to another planet, and have not the remotest conception of the present state and condition of Virginia's influence as a member of the Union. He spoke of the toast at the dinner yesterday complimentary to the President's Administration; of the President's address in answer to it; of the South Carolina resolutions conflicting between the two Houses of the Legislature; and with much dissatisfaction of the editors of the National Intelligencer.

A. H. Tracy, member from the State of New York, spent the evening with me. He is one of the ablest members from that State, and a man of pure morals. He has declined a reelection to the next Congress, but may perhaps be a candidate for the Senate. His anticipations are less flattering and generally more correct than those of most others who converse with me. Dr. Thornton was here at the close of the evening, still anxious to go to South America or to Greece. I received a letter from Mr. Van Buren, enclosing one from D. Winne, at New York, to him, applying for an appointment as Consul in South America. Mr. Van Buren requests me to enable him to answer the letter.

3d. I called this morning at Mr. Van Buren's lodgings, but he was abroad. T. Randall, with a letter from Mountain, at the Havanna, about piracies, and a new tonnage duty of two and a half dollars upon all American vessels. He left the letter with me.

At the office, H. Forrest, to recommend G. Scott; G. B. English twice, about his compensation and employment; Dickins, about General La Fayette, who at the last meeting of the Columbian Institute, on New Year's day, was elected an honorary member, and about the dinner on Wednesday. Mr. Montoya, the Secretary of the Mexican Legation, came, and presented from the Minister a dozen copies of the Mexican Constitution, six of them splendidly bound. General Mason called with

Mr. Dias, who had a claim before the Florida Treaty Commissioners, which was rejected by them. It is now a claim of 1798 against France. On examining the Treaties and Conventions of 1800 and 1803, we found it somewhat desperate; but Mr. Dias left with me several papers concerning it. Mr. Poinsett called to invite me to dine with him to-morrow; Baron Tuyl, to ask the return of the paper that he left with me some days since, and to speak again of his solicitude respecting the Northwest Coast Convention. I gave him one of the bound copies of the Mexican Constitution. E. H. Mills, of the Committee of Foreign Relations of the Senate, came, and requested me to draw a bill for the suppression of piracy, for the consideration of the committee, and mentioned to me measures contemplated by the committee and to be included in the bill —among them a blockade, suggested by an energetic member of the committee, General Jackson. I called at the President's. Mr. Southard soon afterwards came in. The President directed a Cabinet meeting for to-morrow at one, upon the Piracy bill. I received a dispatch from H. Nelson of 17th November, to be communicated to the committees of Congress. Evening, I drafted part of a bill for the suppression of piracy.

4th. Finished the draft of the Piracy bill. W. Findlay called this morning for the printers of the Pittsburg Statesman, who feared they should lose the printing of the laws, because they had been in favor of Mr. Crawford for the Presidency. I told him the commission had already been sent to the Statesman. J. J. Morgan brought me two letters from W. H. Ireland and J. Drake to R. Sharpe, recommending the American to print the laws in New York. Sharpe himself recommends that paper, but Morgan himself recommended Noah's Advocate, and he said Cambreleng was for the Evening Post or the Commercial Advertiser. Mr. Morgan also left with me a letter from Colonel M. Willett to him. E. H. Mills called, and I read to him my draft of a bill for the suppression of piracy, but mentioned the President's desire for a Cabinet consultation upon it before it should go to the committee. Mills said he would call for it to-morrow morning. W. Plumer, Jr., came, and introduced a Mr. Low, bearer of the New Hampshire votes.

Plumer called again afterwards. Mr. G. Hay came with the draft of a message from the President addressed to the Senate, asking for the appointment of a committee to examine his accounts and his claims. He said there was a similar message to go to the House of Representatives. I thought it should be a joint message addressed to both Houses. Mr. Hay disclosed something of his feelings upon other subjects. Visit from P. Bentalou. Cabinet meeting. Messrs. Crawford, Calhoun, and Southard present. Southard read a report to the Senate upon a resolution calling for facts and opinions from the Secretary of the Navy, observing that it was in the form of a letter. I asked him if he usually made his reports to the Houses of Congress in the first person. He said not usually, but this was an answer to a direct resolution. I thought committees should be addressed by letter, and the Houses by report, in the third person, and mentioned what I had heard of Mr. Dallas's having given offence by saying in a report, "When I first came to Washington." But Calhoun said the offence had been taken not at the expression, but at Dallas's attributing to himself all that had been done to restore the finances. There was much discussion upon my draft of a bill to suppress piracy, and two or three alterations made in it. Others were proposed, but not deemed material. The President continues averse to blockading, and to the arming of merchant-vessels. Mr. Crawford thought there was an Act prohibiting the arming of merchant-vessels bound to the West Indies. Mr. Dickins brought me, at the office, the certificate of the election of General La Fayette as an honorary member of the Columbian Institute. Mr. Fuller was at the office, to speak of the piracy documents. He is of the Naval Committee of H. R., who are also preparing a bill. I read him the draft of the one I had prepared. Dined at Mr. Poinsett's, with General La Fayette, General Jackson, and ten others. I gave General La Fayette the certificate, and asked him to attend the dinner to-morrow; but he was engaged to Mr. Custis, at Arlington.

5th. Mr. Mills, of the Senate, called this morning, and I gave him the draft of the bill for the suppression of piracy. David Trimble, member of the House from Kentucky, came, to recom-

mend a young man named Harrison, as a bearer of dispatches, to go beyond sea; and he spoke of a project for abolishing credits for the payment of duties by foreign merchants—whether not contrary to our Convention of 1818 with Great Britain. Noyes Barber, member of the House from Connecticut, introduced Captain Allen, master of the Cadmus, the vessel in which General La Fayette came to the United States. Mr. Reynolds, of Tennessee, came to make enquiry concerning the printing of the laws in a newspaper in his district. At the office, Lieutenant Hunter, of the Navy, brought an account against the Department for carrying dispatches to J. B. Prevost, at Buenos Ayres, in 1819, and for conveying several Consuls to various places in the Mediterranean. There was no authority from the Department for incurring these expenses; but he makes the charges as for expenses incurred in obedience to his orders from his superior officers. The President, to whom I took the account, thought it should be allowed. I suggested to him the expediency of giving some general orders to the officers respecting the allowance of such charges; to which he agreed. Mr. McGinnis came again to the office, concerning the claim of the administrators of Captain O'Brien; and Mr. Pleasanton, the Fifth Auditor, brought the accounts as heretofore settled. After much discussion, I told Mr. McGinnis that, whatever the accounting officers of the Treasury could admit as charges heretofore overlooked, I would authorize the allowance of them now, but I could, without an Act of Congress, allow nothing else. Pleasanton said he must go to Congress for the whole. Mr. Deas came about his old claim upon France, and left a pamphlet with me. Mr. Quarles, heretofore a member of Congress from Kentucky, called, and Mr. D. Webster. At the President's, and returned there with Southard. Resolution H. R. U. S. calling for correspondence from the Pacific. Stewart and Prevost. Question, whether Stewart being to be tried, this correspondence ought now to be sent in answer to the call. The President directed a meeting for to-morrow.

6th. Cabinet meeting. Crawford, Calhoun, and Southard present. A resolution of H. R. calls for the correspondence of the Government with naval officers and others in the South

Sea. This correspondence is full of accusatory matter against Stewart, late commander of the squadron, and against J. B. Prevost. Stewart is suspended, and to be tried by a Court-martial. Prevost is absent, and cannot defend himself. Is it proper *now* to communicate the correspondence to Congress, and excite public prejudice against the one or the other—perhaps both? The unanimous opinion was that it is not. As the resolution was offered by S. D. Ingham, a friend of Stewart's, it was suggested that perhaps it had been at his own desire. But it was thought that made no difference. Prevost's letter of June last to me was read; which he concludes with announcing his determination to retire as soon as a successor should be sent out to him. I was directed to write to him, giving him the President's leave to return to the United States, and it was deemed advisable that there should be an investigation of his conduct. I was requested also to see Mr. Ingham and ascertain from him the object of his call. The President told me that he had not been able to find his letter to Harris. His second letter he thought had been, not to Harris, but to C. J. Ingersoll; and he offered to give his own deposition in the case. At the office, J. W. Taylor and A. H. Tracy called, to speak about the printing of the United States laws in the newspapers in the city of New York. I had already appointed Snowden's Advocate, with which they were satisfied.

7th. I called this morning at Mr. Van Buren's lodgings, and told him that if the young man named Winne, whose letter he had sent me, soliciting an appointment as Consul in South America, would indicate any specific port where he wished to go, I would recommend him to the President. He said he would write about it. I called next upon Mr. Ingham, and told him of the President's objection to send to the House of Representatives the correspondence from the South Sea, implicating the characters of Commodore Stewart and J. B. Prevost. I also assured him that Prevost would have leave to return to the United States, when the charges against him might be investigated, as well as those against Captain Stewart. Ingham said that if these circumstances should be stated in the President's message in answer to the call of the House, it might be proper

to withhold the whole correspondence. I had visits at home from D. H. Miller, member of H. R. from Pennsylvania, who introduced a Mr. Newbold, here upon business for the proprietors of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal. The old project of inducing Congress to take stock in the company. Mr. Newbold gave me a pamphlet published by the company. Visits also from B. W. Crowninshield, who is unwell, and from T. Fuller. They both recommend R. Freeman as Collector of New Bedford. Fuller read me an extract of a letter from Bellamy Storer, at Cincinnati, respecting the Postmaster-General, McLean. Letcher has had much conversation with Fuller respecting H. Clay. I drafted the ratification of the Northwest Coast Convention with Russia, and it was annexed to the Convention itself, forwarded by Mr. Middleton. I drafted also a proclamation to be issued after the exchange of the ratifications. Evening at home, writing—too rare a record.

8th. The day was absorbed by visitors. At my house, Samuel Bell, Senator from New Hampshire, with Samuel Dana, of Massachusetts, who spoke much and made several enquiries concerning Dr. Jonathan Mayhew; Samuel Eddy, M. H. R. from Rhode Island, with a Mr. Easton, of Newport; Moses Hayden, M. H. R. from New York; Samuel Harrison Smith, with two brothers named Kirkpatrick, and another person, from New Jersey. At the office, J. L. Sullivan, with Judge Wright, civil engineer of Erie Canal; Mr. White, also civil engineer, employed on Union, in Pennsylvania; Dr. Howard, of the Board of Internal Improvement, son of Colonel Howard, of Baltimore; Lieutenant Mayo, of the Navy, twice, about his claim for bringing dispatches; Henry Wilson, M. H. R. from Pennsylvania, to plead for McGinnis upon the O'Brien claim; J. T. Sanford, M. H. R. from Tennessee, for a claim of Gilchrist, an assistant of the marshal of that State, in taking the late census and account of manufactures; J. Bailey, M. H. R. from Massachusetts, and Baron Tuyl, to confer upon the exchange of the ratifications of the Northwest Coast Convention. We agreed to make it next Tuesday at one; and he will call again at the Department on Monday. I dined at the President's with a company of members of Congress, and attended an evening

ball at General Brown's, given to General Jackson in honor of the day—the anniversary of the battle of New Orleans. The house was crowded, and the apartments oppressively hot. General La Fayette, who was there, urged me to go next June to meet him at the opening of the Bunker Hill Monument celebration.

9th. Note from H. Clay. Heard Little, from Ecclesiastes vii. 23: "I said, I will be wise; but it was far from me." And in the afternoon at Mr. Baker's, a son of Dr. Mason, formerly of New York, from Hebrews xi. 1: "Now faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen." This discourse was not ineloquent, but the learning and morality and instructiveness of Mr. Little's sermon were more satisfactory to me. In the interval between the two services, I visited J. W. Taylor and A. H. Tracy. They are speculating upon the approaching event, still without conclusive materials for judgment. I received a letter from James Tallmadge, now Lieutenant-Governor of New York, at Albany. Mr. Clay came at six, and spent the evening with me in a long conversation explanatory of the past and prospective of the future. He said that the time was drawing near when the choice must be made in the House of Representatives of a President from the three candidates presented by the electoral colleges; that he had been much urged and solicited with regard to the part in that transaction that he should take, and had not been five minutes landed at his lodgings before he had been applied to by a friend of Mr. Crawford's, in a manner so gross that it had disgusted him; that some of my friends also, disclaiming, indeed, to have any authority from me, had repeatedly applied to him, directly or indirectly, urging considerations personal to himself as motives to his cause. He had thought it best to reserve for some time his determination to himself: first, to give a decent time for his own funeral solemnities as a candidate; and, secondly, to prepare and predispose all his friends to a state of neutrality between the three candidates who would be before the House, so that they might be free ultimately to take that course which might be most conducive to the public interest. The time had now come at which he might be ex-

plicit in his communication with me, and he had for that purpose asked this confidential interview. He wished me, as far as I might think proper, to satisfy him with regard to some principles of great public importance, but without any personal considerations for himself. In the question to come before the House between General Jackson, Mr. Crawford, and myself, he had no hesitation in saying that his preference would be for me.[1]

11th. While Mr. Hay was with me, I received a note from D. Brent, stating that the President had sent for me to attend a Cabinet meeting. I went immediately to the office, and exchanged with Baron Tuyl the ratifications of the N. W. Coast Convention. Baron Maltitz was with him, and read the original treaty. I held the Russian ratified copy, Baron Tuyl ours, and Mr. Ironside the copy received from Baron Tuyl from his Government. We executed in French and English two certificates of the exchange. I attended the Cabinet meeting at the President's. Calhoun and Southard present. Crawford had been, but was gone. Negotiation with Creek Indians. Report of the Commissioners. Letter from D. G. N. to the Secretary of War. The papers given to me to read. P. U. S. told me he had never communicated to me L. Harris's letter to C. J. Ingersoll, on account of its rudeness and incivility, and that Harris's conduct was extremely reprehensible in retaining the papers. He showed me also two other letters from Harris to him, which I had never seen before—one of 5th October, 1819, soliciting the appointment of Minister to Russia, and one of 22d December, 1822, complimentary upon the annual message, of which the President had sent him a printed copy.

12th. M. Van Buren, S. U. S., called to make enquiries concerning A. B. Woodward, appointed as Judge for the middle District of Florida. While he was here, Mr. Calhoun came for the papers relating to the negotiation with the Creek Indians, which I had read, and now returned to him. G. E. Ironside

[1] This appears to have been intended for a full report, which the extreme pressure of business and visits subsequently prevented the writer from completing. Long lists of persons calling daily, with their respective wishes, still remain, but they scarcely retain interest enough to merit the space they would occupy in these pages.

came concerning some documents erroneously transmitted from the President to the Senate, instead of being sent to the printers. Walter Forward, M. H. R. from Pennsylvania, came, and introduced a Mr. Eichborn, from Pittsburg. W. C. Bradley, M. H. R. from Vermont, came upon a claim of C. P. Van Ness, now Governor of that State, late Commissioner under the fifth article of the Treaty of Ghent. He spoke also of the approaching election; of Mr. Chase, the Senator chosen for the next Congress from Vermont; and asked if there would be a special call of the Senate on the 4th of March. He mentioned, likewise, the recent message of P. U. S. to Congress upon his claims and accounts. Bradley, with the misfortune of deafness, is one of the most intelligent members of Congress. I dined with Messrs. Van Buren, Van Rensselaer, and McLane, and took with me the papers requested by Mr. Van Buren. General La Fayette, General Jackson, Mr. Clay, Mr. Calhoun, and General S. Smith were there. I attended at the drawing-room, with Mrs. Adams. James Lloyd, of Massachusetts, spoke of the printing of the documents relating to R. Rush's late negotiation in England. James Barbour and R. King had spoken of it last evening. The President said he saw no objection to their being confidentially printed for the use of the Senate. I suggested to Mr. Barbour that the papers should be returned to the Department by the committee, and then called for by a resolution of Senate, sitting on Executive business.

13th. I called this morning on James Barbour, S. U. S., and asked him to return the long report of R. Rush's negotiation, and then move a call for it, and for the instructions under which the negotiation was conducted, in Senate upon Executive business. He agreed to take this course. I spoke to him confidentially with regard to the approaching election, and told him the present condition of things, at which he appeared surprised. He repeated the unalterable determination of Virginia to vote in the first instance for Mr. Crawford, but her determination at all events to vote for another than a mere military leader. Returning home, I met Mr. R. King, who spoke of a proposition of J. S. Johnston to apply all the proceeds of land sales to

purposes of education. He (King) thought of proposing that they should be applied to the emancipation and exportation of slaves, with the consent of the slave States. He said they would all consent, north of South Carolina. General Wingate came, to enquire for an answer to the petition of a man named Timmins, for a remission of a penalty. He spoke also of the charges against M. L. Hill, and, in case of his removal, recommended a person named Swanton. At the President's. He found the petition of Timmins, and a minute of Mr. Hay's upon it. I asked him if there would be a call of the Senate on the 4th of March, which, he said, must be considered. I spoke to him in confidence concerning the election, and said that whatever might be its result I should wish for his friendly counsel after the event, and, as far as he might be disposed to give it, before. I told him my present intention was, in the event of General Jackson's election, to retire. He spoke cautiously, but expressed a willingness to advise me so far as might be proper. He said he had at the eve of his first election been much beset; by none more than Jonathan Russell. Hinted at Mr. Clay's resentments; at the uses made of his letter to General Jackson, which he again declared he firmly believed he had never shown to any one. He spoke also of Forsyth with moderation, but with a sense of injury. He read me his message upon piracy, this day sent in.

15th. Horatio Seymour, S. U. S. from Vermont, in great concern about the instructions, from the Kentucky House of Representatives to the members of that delegation here, to vote for General Jackson as President. He is alarmed for its probable effect on the votes of all the Western States. I advised him to see and converse with Mr. Clay.

Colonel R. M. Johnson, S. U. S. from Kentucky, who told me there was an article in the Lexington Reporter stating that it was said the instructions had been given by the advice of one of the Senators of the State at Washington; and, as it was known Talbot took no part in the election, the imputation was upon him (Johnson). But he solemnly protested that he had not written any such letter, and intimated that the instructions were given in consequence of Mr. Clay's own par-

tisans having taken so much pains to make me unpopular in the State, for which he believed they were now very sorry. Johnson professed neutrality between General Jackson and me, and said he should be well satisfied if either of us should be elected.

Mr. Whittlesey, M. H. R. from Ohio, introduced a cousin of his, of the same name, from Connecticut. Mr. Ironside came with a new copy of my last report to P. U. S. on two resolutions of the Senate concerning the piracies, for me to sign. The former copy was mislaid at the President's, and not sent with his message.

G. Sullivan came, to talk about the Kentucky instructions, and to ask if the bringing forward the Massachusetts claim in H. R. might not affect unfavorably the Presidential election.

I said it should be brought forward without any regard to the election whatever, and whatever its effect upon that might be.

He said he had told Mr. Calhoun that would be what I should say, but Mr. Calhoun advised that the claim should not be brought forward if it would affect unfavorably the election; and he himself thought the interest of Massachusetts was greater in the election than in the claim.

I told him I believed the votes upon the election were already so fixed that the claim would have no effect upon them whatever.

D. Raymond, of Baltimore, called, and mentioned to me the sudden death of General R. G. Harper there yesterday morning. Harper, but a few days since, had published an address to the public, offering himself as a candidate for the H. R. U. S. for the Twentieth Congress, to be voted for two years hence.

Isaac McKim, M. H. R. from Baltimore, came with young Hollins for a claim appealed from the Havanna to Spain; wishing for the interposition of the Government in his favor. At the office, came General Call, delegate from Florida, who said he would recommend some person for District Attorney in the place of W. F. Steele.

S. A. Foote, M. H. R. from Connecticut, startled at the Kentucky Legislative instructions. J. Bailey, somewhat affected in

the same manner, said J. S. Barbour told him the Virginia delegation would vote for Jackson.

The Baron de Mareuil came, and noticed several errors in the translation of his letter to me, published in the newspapers, respecting the authentication of certificates of origin by French Consuls in the United States. He enquired also if I had an answer from the Secretary of the Treasury to the enquiry whether the discriminating duties on French vessels and cargoes had been reduced one-quarter on the 1st of October.

I had received this morning the answer, which I read to him, and the substance of which he requested me to communicate officially to him. He intimated a wish that I had informed him of my intention to publish in the newspapers the translation of his letter to me, but said he had no objection to the publication, and that it was perhaps the most convenient mode of diffusing the information.

16th. Taylor and Tracy dined with me. Taylor said that he had been solicited to take charge in H. R. of the message from P. U. S. relating to his accounts and claims, which he had declined. It was at last undertaken, very reluctantly, by Mr. Ingham, of Pennsylvania.

17th. W. C. Bradley, member from Vermont, was here, and afterwards W. Plumer, Jr., of New Hampshire, much concerned about these instructions from the Legislature of Kentucky. Bradley said he had seen Clay this morning, who told him the resolutions would confirm the majority of the delegation in their determination to vote otherwise, but who spoke of the event of the election as exceedingly uncertain—of Missouri and Illinois particularly, the votes of both the States being in single persons. Bradley said he had urged Clay to see me, but Clay had told him it was altogether unnecessary—that his course was fixed, and he should consider the elevation of the Hero as the greatest calamity which could befall the country.

Plumer spoke again about Webster, and his ambition to go as Minister to England, which I thought might be gratified hereafter, but not immediately. James Lloyd, Senator, came, and mentioned that Mr. William Patterson, of Baltimore, had been appointed one of the directors of the Bank of the United

States on the part of the Government, having already been chosen a director by the stockholders, which, he thought, was contrary to law.

At the office. Letter from L. Cheves, and Journal of the Commissioners under the Slave Indemnity Commission. At the President's. Spoke of the special call of the Senate on the 4th of March. To look into the precedents. Internal improvement. The President spoke of bills now before Congress on that subject. I left many papers with him. But public business grows irksome to him as he approaches the close of his Administration. I mentioned this to Mr. Southard, whom I met as I was returning home to dinner, and who stopped to give me papers relating to the quarrel between Bennett, the Consul at Pernambuco, and Kirkpatrick. He was himself unwell.

18th. Dr. Thornton called this morning to give me some information respecting the prospects of the election. It respected the Kentucky and Ohio delegations, and concurred with what I had heard before.

Mr. S. L. Southard came, to ask for the papers he had left with me yesterday, of which Mr. Kirkpatrick wishes to take copies. I gave them to him. He then asked me some questions respecting the election, upon which I spoke to him with entire confidence. I asked him if he wished me so to speak to him, and he said he did. I told him of the present state of things, so far as it is known to myself; of the present prospect, that a majority of the friends of Mr. Clay and Mr. Crawford would finally vote for me, but that the whole of the aspect may be changed from day to day. I mentioned the doubtful situation both of the New York and Virginia delegations, and how they will be liable to be swayed by the slightest incident which may occur between this and the day of election. And I informed him of the exertions made and making by De Witt Clinton, both in the State of New York and with its delegation here, to secure the election of General Jackson—particularly that he had written to General Van Rensselaer, and spoken to M. Hayden, to prevail on them to vote for him. I observed that he had an agent here, acting for him as far as he could,

and through whom I believed he had influenced the election in New Jersey.

Southard said he had no doubt he had. He repeated that he himself had been deeply mortified at the result of the election in New Jersey, and was sure that it it did not express the voice or the feeling of the people of that State. He said that when he came into the Administration he had no particular regard for me; that his sentiment towards me was one of indifference, he had perhaps some prepossessions against me; but for the last twelve months he trusted I had no doubt of his friendly disposition to me.

I said I had not. Of the New Jersey delegation, he thought there were three in my favor—Matlack, Condit, and Swan, or Garrison.

I told him I had heard the vote of the State would depend upon Dr. Holcombe. I told him that, from the relations existing between us, I should need his friendly advice, whatever the event of the election might be; that until very recently I had not expected it would be necessary for me to anticipate the event of my election as one for which it would be proper for me even to be prepared. Doubtful and uncertain as it now is, I must yet think of it as a contingency upon which I may be called to act. I should in that event rely upon his continuing in the station which he now holds, and from the moment of the election, and perhaps before, should frequently want the assistance of his counsel.

He said that he should at all times be glad to give it, and that he was glad I had made this communication to him.

I was at the President's, and he agreed to the form of a circular to the Senators, calling them to a meeting on the 4th of March next. In the cases wherein there has been no election by the State Legislature of a Senator for the period to commence on the 4th of March, I proposed to notify the sitting Senator, who may give the notice to the Executive of the State; to which the President assented.

19th. D. Webster and J. Reed were at the office, and conversed upon the topic which absorbs all others. Webster said there were persons who pretended to know how a member

would vote by the manner in which he put on or took off his hat.

Wyer told me that there had arisen a coolness between the President and Mr. Rufus King—occasioned by the publication of the President's letter to General Jackson, which charged some of the leading federalists with monarchical designs; that Mr. King had not called to take leave of the President at the close of the last session of Congress, as he had been wont to do, and had not visited him, or been invited to dine with him, this session. Wyer spoke also of Garnett, who is again very ill.

T. Fuller came just before I was leaving the office. I told him I had seen Mr. Clay, and found his impressions respecting the Western delegations such as mine.

I had called at General Brown's office on going to mine, to return him a letter from Ambrose Spencer to him, recommending H. Wheaton for a mission to South America, which Brown had sent me to read, and which had been in the President's possession. Brown spoke of Spencer, De Witt Clinton, Calhoun, McLean, the Postmaster-General, and Southard. His opinion of Calhoun is changed, and he has no longer the same confidence in him as heretofore. He says Calhoun yesterday was fully convinced that the Western States would vote for Jackson, and that his election was certain. He must either be grossly misinformed or too well informed. I received a letter from James Tallmadge, which shows that Brown is not well informed of the movements of Ambrose Spencer.

20th. Morning visits at my house from A. H. Everett, J. Sloane, member from Ohio, with a Mr. Bissell, from that State, D. P. Cook, member from Illinois, and W. Plumer, Jr., from New Hampshire. J. Reed, member from Massachusetts, came, but, finding company with me, promised to call again. Cook told me that some time since he had been informed by three persons of weight in the Western delegations that they would all vote for General Jackson. He had received also letters from some of his warmest friends in Illinois, and of those who had been my warmest friends, advising him, in that event, to vote with the other Western members, as by standing out alone

for me he would only sacrifice himself without serving me. But he was now satisfied that Ohio and Kentucky would vote for me—probably Missouri, and perhaps Louisiana. He should, therefore, be at liberty to vote according to his own inclinations. He said he had been conversing with Scott, of Missouri, who was very well disposed to go with the other Western delegations, but who had some grievances against me about the appointments for printing the laws, and about some letter that I had written to one of the printers. Plumer said that General McArthur had intimated as advisable that the delegation from Ohio should have a meeting, determine upon their vote, and then that the members should without reserve signify their intentions, so that there might be no longer occasion to doubt concerning it.

21st. Morning visits from R. P. Letcher, of Kentucky, J. Scott, of Missouri, J. Reed, of Massachusetts, J. McKim, of Maryland, and W. C. Bradley, of Vermont, members H. R., and from B. O. Tayloe and P. Force.

Letcher brought me a letter from G. Robertson, formerly a member of the House, now in the Kentucky Legislature; and he told me that Scott would call upon me this morning, and he mentioned the proceedings in the Kentucky delegation after they received what they call their instructions.

Scott came, and gave me the list of the printers whom he wished to have appointed for printing the laws in Missouri. They were the same that had been appointed last year. Scott explained to me his causes of complaint against me, which consisted only in my having appointed several years since one newspaper to print the laws in Missouri, which was politically opposed to him. He appeared to be satisfied with the assurances that I gave him, that I had not in that, or any other instance, acted with intentions unfriendly to him. He spoke of the application to the President for the removal of his brother as a Judge in the Territory of Arkansas, for having killed in a duel his colleague on the bench.

I told him there was such an application, which had been made as long since as last summer. But as the President had not acted upon it hitherto, I thought he would not.

Scott then proceeded to speak of the approaching election, and said that he had made up his mind to vote with the other Western delegations, but intimated that he should incur great opposition for it in his own State. He spoke of himself as being entirely devoted to Mr. Clay, and of his hope that he would be a member of the next Administration.

I told him that he would not expect me to enter upon details with regard to the formation of an Administration, but that if I should be elected by the suffrages of the West I should naturally look to the West for much of the support that I should need.

He parted from me apparently satisfied.

Reed came to speak about Webster, Louis McLane, and the federalists. His own disposition is favorable to me; but Webster is specially apprehensive that the federalists will be excluded from office by me.

I told Reed that I should exclude no person for political opinions, or for personal opposition to me; that my great object would be to break up the remnant of old party distinctions, and bring the whole people together in sentiment as much as possible.

Bradley told me that General Jackson had yesterday, or the day before, paid a visit to Mr. Crawford, and they had been reconciled together, with mutual assurances that there had never been any *personal* hostility towards each other. I have expected this movement ever since the development of the Western phalanx, and if, as is highly probable, it brings all the Crawford force in the House to bear in favor of Jackson, it will be decisive of the election.

Bradley likewise told me that Mills was in favor of Jackson, and had written to Northampton to promote his cause; and that H. W. Edwards, the Senator from Connecticut, instigated by Calhoun, had been tampering with N. Barber and Stoddard, members from that State, to vote for Jackson. They were originally for Crawford; and Sterling and Whitman, originally Calhounites, will also vote for Jackson—which would give him the State. Bradley said Barber had been with him, and expressed a willingness to vote for me, but an apprehension

that I should turn out Law, the Collector at New London, and some other revenue officers, who had been for Crawford.

I assured Bradley that I should turn out no person for his conduct or opinions in relation to the election.

Mr. McKim read me a letter to him from one of his constituents at Baltimore, concerning the call for the correspondence with the Netherlands relating to claims.

I told him the call was already made, in a resolution offered by Mr. Webster.

22d. J. Scott, of Missouri, called to say that he had been under some apprehension, from what he had said yesterday, that I might consider him as having been disposed to prescribe conditions or make bargains.

I told him I had not so understood him, and that he had said nothing yesterday that I had received in that sense.

He said he had not meant to speak positively. He had not then, and had not now, entirely made up his mind how he should vote; but his prevailing impression was, that he should act with his friends.

This apprehension, that he had spoken yesterday too positively, is characteristic. Scott means to vote with the strongest side.

At the office came, successively, A. H. Tracy, J. Branch, Senator from North Carolina, Mr. Rebello, Chargé d'Affaires from Brazil, Mr. Quarles, formerly a member of the House from Kentucky, R. M. Johnson, Senator from that State, J. Bailey, member from Massachusetts, and E. Wyer. Tracy had not heard of the visit of General Jackson to Mr. Crawford, but had observed the reviving spirits of Jackson's friends in the House within the last two days.

Rebello came to make a proposition from the Brazilian Government for a treaty of alliance, eventual with the United States, and to which, on certain contingencies, the republican Governments of South America should also be parties.

I desired him to send me the proposal in writing, to be laid before the President for consideration.

He manifested great earnestness for the appointment of a formal diplomatic Agent from the U. S. to Brazil before the close

of the present session of Congress. I told him it might be postponed till the commencement of the next Administration.

Quarles talked in a manner somewhat desultory about the election and about Kentucky. R. M. Johnson came, to enquire concerning the circular to the Senators to attend in the Senate-chamber on the 4th of March next, for Mr. Rowan, the new Senator from Kentucky.

I told him the letter had already been dispatched to Mr. Rowan.

Johnson spoke also of the election, and said that Kentucky would vote for me seven to five; that Ohio would be for me, and, he believed, Scott, of Missouri; that Daniel Pope Cook, of Illinois, would vote for Jackson, though much against his inclination.

I asked him if he was sure.

He said Cook had told him so a week ago; that Maryland and Louisiana were claimed by both sides, but Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia would vote for Jackson. The Colonel spoke under evident excitement, and with certainly good information. His enumeration is the most correct that I have heard of, and, coupled with Scott's second visit to me this morning, and with various other symptoms disclosed within three days, satisfies me to a certainty that the issue of the election will be against me.

Dr. Thornton told me this morning that a friend of Mr. Crawford had told him that Mr. Crawford would in no event continue in the Treasury, but would return to Georgia; that Mr. Cobb was to resign his seat in the Senate, and Crawford was to come in his place. "Credat Judæus Apella."

23d. Mr. and Mrs. D. P. Cook spent the evening with us, and A. H. Tracy. Cook informed me of the labors of Ingham, R. M. Johnson, and McDuffie to prevail upon him to vote for General Jackson. Exhortations, promises, threats—nothing has been spared. Ingham promised him the Government of Arkansas. R. M. Johnson bewailed the ruin which Cook was about to bring upon *himself* by voting for me. McDuffie threatened him with a formal, determined, and organized opposition to the Administration if I should be chosen. All the

sources of hope and fear in his bosom were searched, and they will eventually prevail. Cook and Ingham lodge both at Fletcher's. Yesterday Ingham sent for Cook to come to his chamber; there he found McDuffie, and there received this lesson from him. R. M. Johnson went immediately from me yesterday to Cook, and told him that I expected his vote; upon which an explanation between them took place. Cook had not heard of the reconciliation between General Jackson and Mr. Crawford, and was surprised to hear of it.

Tracy observed the renewed confidence of the Jackson party, and the correspondent wavering of others.

24th. I had received yesterday a note from the President, intimating his intention to make without delay the nominations for appointments which he has left hitherto for his successor. I called at the President's, and had some conversation with him on this point. I told him it would be impossible for him to make the nominations before the election of President in the House without having some bearing, or being supposed to have some, upon the election; and I read to him a *communicated* article in the Richmond Enquirer of Saturday, which I had no doubt was sent from this place, severely commenting upon the appointment of members of Congress, and in a very arrogant manner warning him against the appointment of Poinsett, or of another member, as Minister to Mexico.

He determined to consider of it further. He told me that he thought of nominating A. H. Everett as Minister to Spain; transferring J. A. Smith to Madrid, as Secretary of Legation, and Appleton, in the same capacity, to London; and that he should nominate General Izard, of South Carolina, as Governor of Arkansas.

I told him I should be highly gratified with the appointment of Mr. Everett to Spain; that I believed the transfer of Smith to Madrid, and of Appleton to London, would be the most proper arrangement that could be made to do justice to all parties; and that I could have no objection to the appointment of Izard as Governor of Arkansas. But I wished him to consider whether for his own sake, rather than mine, he had not better defer these nominations till after the election, as I be-

lieved they would otherwise be suspected at least to have a bearing on that event.

After I returned from the President's, Mr. Southard called at my office. He spoke of the President's views with respect to the appointments. He glanced at the election, of which, however, he spoke with great reserve.

25th. George Sullivan was here, and conversed with me on the subject of the Massachusetts claim, which he has within a few days been desirous of bringing forward *now*. But he has had intimations from friends of mine that at this time it might excite heats and affect the prospects of the election. I have uniformly advised him to bring forward the claim at the time most advantageous for its success, whatever might be its effects upon the election; but I recommended to him to advise with the members best acquainted with the temper of the House, whether the claim itself would now have so fair a chance of success as after the election. There is at this moment a very high state of excitement in the House, Mr. Clay and the majority of the Ohio and Kentucky delegations having yesterday unequivocally avowed their determination to vote for me. This immediately produced an approximation of the Calhoun, Crawford, and Jackson partisans, and will effectually knit the coalition of the South with Pennsylvania.

W. Plumer, Jr., and A. H. Tracy were here, and both spoke of this incident as having produced a great sensation in the House. It appears that General Jackson has not visited Mr. Crawford, but that the ladies have interchanged visits, and that Mr. Samuel Swartwout, of New Jersey, has meditated a peace between the General and the Secretary of the Treasury. Plumer had yesterday a conversation with L. McLane, of Delaware, who told him they would overthrow the Capitol sooner than he would vote for Jackson, but who professed an intention almost as decided not to vote for me. The impression almost universal, made yesterday, was that the election was settled in my favor; but the result of the counter-movement will be the real crisis, and I have little doubt that will be decisive the other way. My situation will be difficult and trying beyond my powers of expression. May but my strength be proportioned

to my trial! I went with a letter from Dr. Mason, of New York, recommending Mr. Warner, to Mr. Calhoun's office, but he was at the President's. I found him there with Mr. Southard. The Professorship of West Point is to be given to Mr. McIlvaine, of Georgetown. The Secretary of the Navy had Platt's report of the origin of Porter's affair at Porto Rico. The case appears upon this report very disadvantageously to Porter. I spoke of Mr. O'Brien's enquiries, whether a vessel of war was to be stationed on our Eastern coast. The want of the force appeared to be the principal objection. No decision.

26th. Mr. Thomas, the Naval Architect, was here, to solicit employment. Dr. Thornton, to say that he had it very directly from Mr. Crawford's family that he was, and would be, my friend, and that the overtures from General Jackson to him had not succeeded. J. McLean, the Postmaster-General, introduced to me a Colonel Bond, from Ohio.

W. C. Bradley came, to tell me that Jennings, member from Indiana, had informed him that Noble, the Senator from that State, intended to move in Senate a resolution to call for the correspondence respecting the appointment of printers in that State. Noble's object was to injure me in Indiana for appointing an old paper again, instead of a new one recommended by him. And Jennings was very desirous I should write to Noble to prevent this call.

I told Bradley I would do anything in the case that Jennings would wish for his sake; but that, for my own, I had not the least objection to Noble's call.

T. Fuller was here, and R. Dunlap, with whom I agreed to close the taking of my depositions at seven this evening. At the office, successively came J. R. Poinsett, to make enquiries concerning the right of landing on a foreign territory in fresh pursuit of pirates. I furnished him with authorities and precedents—Vattel, the Ordonnance de la Marine, of Valin, Azuni on Piracy, and on Maritime Law, and the documents in General Jackson's Seminole War campaign.

Crowninshield, rather to seek than to give any information; and General Brown, who told me that he had now fully ascertained that Mr. Southard, the Secretary of the Navy, had been,

and would be, neutral on the Presidential election. Bradley had told me that the New Jersey delegation had a meeting yesterday, and determined to vote for Jackson. Brown said he had no doubt of Mr. Southard's neutrality, because he had assured Major Towson he should be neutral; Towson having been extremely anxious that he should take side with General Jackson. Southard's neutrality is just as useful to Jackson's cause as his most devoted support would be, because it decides the vote of New Jersey in his favor. Towson is under deep personal obligations to Calhoun, and I have no doubt has acted by his instigation. I gave General Brown my impressions respecting the present course of Mr. Calhoun, and found that Brown's opinions very reluctantly coincided with mine.

27th. W. Plumer, Jr., and H. E. Martindale, with A. H. Tracy. While Plumer was with me I received a note from H. Clay, proposing to call on me this evening at six. I asked Plumer, who was going immediately to the House, to say to Mr. Clay that I had company to dine with me this evening, but would see him at any other time that would suit his convenience, at my house or at his lodgings.

General Brown came, and told me that he had had a long and grave conversation this morning with Mr. Calhoun, who, with the most solemn asseverations, had declared himself neutral between General Jackson and me, and that his personal wish was for my election. This contrasts singularly with the conduct of all his electioneering partisans.

Letcher called, and mentioned Mr. Clay's wish to see me this evening. I told him of my engagement, but promised to be at home to receive him to-morrow evening.

At one o'clock I presented to the President Baron Tuyl, the Russian Minister, with Count Medem, to take leave, on his departure to carry the ratified treaty to St. Petersburg. The audience was of not more than five minutes' duration.

Mr. Rebello, the Brazilian Chargé d'Affaires, came to propose an alliance between the United States and Brazil, with invitation to the other South American States to accede to it.

I invited him to commit his proposal to writing, and promised then to lay it before the President.

He expressed also much anxiety for the appointment, before the close of the present session of Congress, of a diplomatic mission to Brazil.

I told him it might be postponed till the commencement of the next Administration.

Mr. Rufus King, Senator from New York, came, and had a long conversation with me upon the present state and aspect of things. They are flattering for the immediate issue, but the fearful condition of them is, that success would open to a far severer trial than defeat. I spoke to Mr. King of the coldness and alienation which has taken place between him and the President, occasioned by an opinion expressed by Mr. Monroe in a letter to General Jackson, that some of the leaders of the federal party had been monarchists. I wished that these two cotemporary distinguished men, retiring to private life at the same time, after so many years of public service together, should part in friendship. But I found Mr. King too much hurt for reconciliation, and that an abortive attempt to effect it had already been made through C. F. Mercer.

28th. H. U. Addington came, and I mentioned to him the wish of E. F. Tattnall to procure (copies) from the British Government archives relating to the history of Georgia. I had written about it yesterday to R. Rush. Addington readily promised all the assistance in his power. He spoke of the Slave-Trade Convention, with very little expectation for the present.

The Baron de Mareuil came, and again asked for an answer to his note concerning the reduction of the discriminating duties. He also mentioned the complaint against our Consul at Tangier, Mullowny, for harboring in his house the Spanish fugitives from Tarifa. I had received a note from the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires, Salmon, charging Mullowny with protecting and abetting them there, en proyecto, against the Spanish Government; and a letter from Mullowny himself, giving his account of the affair, vindicating himself, and complaining of the French Consul.

I told the Baron that further information would be taken upon the subject; that if the Consul had harbored conspirators against the Spanish Government while in pursuit of their objects, he

would not be countenanced by us; but if he had merely afforded a momentary shelter and hospitality to unfortunate fugitives from another country, whatever their projects might have been there, I did not think it a matter suitable for representations calling censure upon him from any foreign nation.

The Baron thought there were gradations of censure, some severe, some slight; and the mere reception (accueil) of persons like the fugitives from Tarifa might be considered as an indiscretion.

I asked him to suppose they had escaped to this country. Would representations against the reception of them have been proper?

He thought there was a distinction between the cases, but said, as Mr. Salmon had made a direct complaint, and I had assured him further enquiry would be made into the facts, he should say no more about it.

I dined at Mr. Salazar's, the Colombian Minister's, and passed the evening at home alone, expecting that Mr. Clay would call; but he did not.

29th. Mr. John Forsyth, Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations H. R. U. S., came to make enquiry for a proclamation of blockade by the Spanish General Morales. I went to the President's, and found him preparing to go down to the ship North Carolina. I spoke to him of the instructions to be given to Commodore Rodgers, of the application of C. Bolton, and of some other concerns, all of which he postponed till his return here Monday morning. I mentioned particularly the application of Mr. Estwick Evans, of New Hampshire, for a passage on board the North Carolina, to go to Greece. He made a minute of it, to speak to Mr. Southard and Commodore Rodgers.

Returning from the President's to my office, I met W. Plumer, Jr., with Mr. Evans, whom he introduced to me, and told them what the President had said. I met also Count Medem, who had been at the office to take leave; going tomorrow morning to embark at New York, with the ratified Northwest Coast Convention.

I dined with Mr. George Sullivan. The party consisted of

Mr. Clay, the Speaker, Mr. Salazar, the Colombian Minister, J. S. Johnston, Senator, and E. Livingston, member from Louisiana, T. Newton, W. Archer, and J. Taliaferro, members from Virginia, James Hamilton, member from South Carolina, A. H. Everett, and Miss Stockton, who is residing with Mrs. Sullivan. The party, though variously selected, was exceedingly good-humored and jovial, and it was past nine in the evening when we broke up.

On my return home, Mr. Clay came in, and sat with me a couple of hours, discussing all the prospects and probabilities of the Presidential election. He spoke to me with the utmost freedom of men and things; intimated doubts and prepossessions concerning individual friends of mine, to all which I listened with due consideration. He was anxious for the conciliation of Webster and Louis McLane, and expressed some jealousy as from Webster of the persons by whom he supposed me to be surrounded.

I told him the sources of Webster's anxieties, and my own earnest desire to conciliate him; the manner in which my overtures had been received by him, and my own high opinion of his talents and capacities for service.

He spoke of Jabez B. Hammond, as being here to promote the views of Governor Clinton, of New York, though, he said, Hammond was his friend also—and he was very desirous of learning whatever might come to my knowledge in the course of the ensuing week, and which it may be interesting for him to know. His own situation is critical and difficult. He is attacked with fury in the newspapers for having come out for me, and threats of violence have been largely thrown out by the partisans of General Jackson, particularly those of the Calhoun interest. Richard M. Johnson told me at the drawing-room last Wednesday that it had been seriously proposed to him, in the event of the failure of Jackson's election, to erect his standard; and I received this morning an anonymous letter from Philadelphia threatening organized opposition and civil war if Jackson is not chosen. Just like Ingham's and McDuffie's talk to Cook. This blustering has an air of desperation. But we must meet it.

30th. A. H. Tracy, H. Seymour, and R. C. Mallary were here in the evening. The intenseness of interest in the issue of the Presidential election increases as the day approaches. Seymour and Mallary came to converse about it altogether. The intriguing for votes is excessive, and the means adopted to obtain them desperate. Tracy is more doubtful than ever of the vote of the New York delegation.

31st. Card from H. Clay this morning in the National Intelligencer.[1] Jonathan Jennings, member from Indiana, introduced a Mr. Gregg from that State. Jennings told me that W. Hendricks, the present Governor, was elected to the Senate. D. H. Miller, member from Pennsylvania, brought a Mr. Robbins, who had an application for a patent.

G. Sullivan came, and told me that the President had returned from his visit to the ship North Carolina; that he was determined this day or to-morrow to make the nominations to all the foreign missions; that A. H. Everett was to be appointed to Spain or Mexico, and that M. Stokes, of North Carolina, was also to be appointed to a mission. Sullivan afterwards called at the office, and said that Calhoun and Southard were there, he had no doubt, engaged in prevailing upon the President to make these nominations *now*.

I called at the President's, and found Messrs. Calhoun and Southard with him, but they immediately withdrew. I delivered to him two or three dispatches received from R. Rush, and the letter last received from S. Mullowny. I also read to him the note received from S. Rebello, Chargé d'Affaires from Brazil, proposing an alliance offensive and defensive; which, he said, must be declined. He soon began to speak, however, of the nominations, and said he believed he should send them in immediately.

I observed that I should be perfectly satisfied if he would determine upon his selection of the persons now, and prepare the nominations; but I was convinced it would much increase the excitement, already great and every day inflaming, if he should send in the nominations *now* or before the election. I

[1] This was the paper relative to Mr. George Kremer, member from Pennsylvania, which made a great sensation at this critical moment in the election.

asked him if he had been advised to this measure by Mr. Calhoun.

He said he had, and by Mr. Southard, by Mr. Elliott, Senator from Georgia, and by Mr. Taliaferro, member from Virginia.

I said that the motives of all these gentlemen, or of those by whom they were instigated, were suspicions of me—suspicions that I was using these vacant missions as lures to promote my own election in the House. They wished to take this weapon out of my hands. They were mistaken. The only person whom I wished to recommend to him was one of those whom he proposed to nominate. I was willing he should fix all his nominations *now*. It would disconcert no arrangements of mine, and I had no suspicion that General Jackson would use the suspension of them to promote *his* election.

The President had named G. M. Dallas, Henry Wheaton, Garnett, and M. Stokes, and Benton, as candidates for the Mexican mission. He said he had proposed it to Poinsett, who had declined.

I said I had objections to only one of these persons, and they arose from my belief of his incompetency to the trust of a mission abroad. I named him, and the President fully concurred with me in opinion. I spoke of Mr. Benton's talents with respect, though, after his violent and deadly feuds with General Jackson, he had within a few days come out for him.

The President intimated that Poinsett had recommended Benton to him; which resolves the whole mystery. The President thought that the agreement between Mr. Elliott and Mr. Calhoun proved that their opinion could not be founded on the same motive with reference to the election, and was utterly astonished when I informed him of the movements towards coalition between General Jackson and Mr. Crawford. He had never heard of the visits exchanged between their ladies, nor of the advances made between their friends, to a concert of opposition to me. He told me that Mr. Crawford had often spoken to him with the utmost severity of the character of General Jackson in regard to moral principle, and that Jackson had done the same of Crawford; that more than two years since Jackson had urged him very earnestly to remove Craw-

ford from the Treasury; that he had then told Jackson that Crawford had claims upon his forbearance and friendship which he had perhaps upon no other man; that he had explained these to General Jackson, who admitted the force of them, and had not spoken to him upon the subject since.

We had much more conversation, in which the President appeared to be greatly shocked at the idea of a coalition between General Jackson and Mr. Crawford. He said it was horrible to think of. He said Elliott was the only man of the Georgia delegation who saw him in a friendly manner; that Elliott, at the last session of Congress, had spoken to him with the deepest distrust of Calhoun, and when I told him that I knew Elliott had said the Georgia delegation would in the last resort vote for Jackson, he seemed scarcely to credit his own ears. He spoke of Mr. Crawford's conduct respecting his Administration as he had done before. He thought that when, two or three years since, the violent opposition against the Administration was roused by Crawford's friends, and apparently under his countenance, in disavowing that opposition he ought to have done some act publicly to separate himself from them.

I thought so too.

But he said that in consequence of his former relations with Mr. Crawford, he had treated him with uniform and unqualified kindness—instancing his permitting him the use of a fac-simile signature, and forbearing to appoint a temporary acting Secretary of the Treasury, upon the certificate of Mr. Crawford's physicians that he was competent to discharge the duties of his office.

I said I approved this, and thought that as there had not been sufficient cause for him to remove Mr. Crawford, so there would not be sufficient cause for his successor to remove him.

The President said he had long supposed Mr. Southard and Mr. Calhoun were friendly to my election.

I said I believed Mr. Southard was, but his situation neutralized him, or made him act counter to his wishes, and he was under extreme pressure to support the cause of General Jackson. Mr. Calhoun's case was different. His situation was

peculiar, and so had been his conduct. I did not believe his wishes were favorable to me.

The President said he would further consider the case of the nominations.

After I returned to the office, Sullivan, and Wyer, and T. Fuller were there. Fuller informed me that Forsyth had this day told him that Georgia would vote for Crawford to the last.

Mr. Addington, the British Chargé d'Affaires, was this morning at the office, with a newspaper rumor from Europe that the King of Spain had declared that unless the United States would revoke the recognition of the South American republics, he would revoke the cession of the Floridas. I read to Mr. Addington the dispatch from H. Nelson, of 21st November, 1824, which contained ample refutation of the rumor.

February 1st. I called this morning on Mr. Van Buren, S. U. S. from New York, and told him that I believed the young man recommended by him for the appointment of Consul at Saint Jago of Chili, Daniel Wynne, would be nominated, but perhaps not till after the election in the House.

He said it had been reported yesterday at the Senate that it would in the course of the day be sent in.

I told him I had read his speech of yesterday on the Piracy bill, and thanked him for rectifying a mistake which had represented me as favoring the section which authorized, on certain contingencies, a blockade of the ports of Cuba.

He spoke to me of Mr. R. King, his colleague, whose time expires with this session of Congress, and who has declined a re-election—I supposed because he could not have been re-chosen. Van Buren said that was the fact. He told me that King had shown him a very interesting correspondence between Gouverneur Morris and him about the Hartford Convention. Morris had pressed him exceedingly to join in that conspiracy, which he had firmly declined. I asked him if Mr. King had ever spoken to him of the separation project of 1803–4 after the cession of Louisiana.

He said, No.

I called at the President's, to enquire if he had decided upon

the applications of Mr. Evans and Mr. Bolton. He said the Secretary of the Navy would give Mr. Evans a letter to Commodore Rodgers, who would give him a passage in the ship, and he desired me to examine further into the papers of Mr. Bolton. He then told me that he had determined not to make the nominations, excepting only the transfer of J. A. Smith and J. J. Appleton from and to London and Madrid. He should leave the rest to his successor. He desired me to mention to Mr. Everett the high opinion that he entertained of his conduct and services, but gave me to understand that he should not nominate him, as he had intended. He desired me not even to mention to Everett that he had intended to nominate him.

This change in the President's determination, from that of making the nominations *before* the election in the House to that of not making them at all, would have surprised me if I had not known that Mr. Ingham, member from Pennsylvania, had been with the President this morning. The servant who mentioned it said that Mr. Ingham came often, and always stayed long. Ingham is Chairman of the committee to whom the message relating to the President's accounts is referred. This is perhaps the occasion of his long visits, and gives him opportunities to avail himself of them for other objects. I made no remark upon the President's present determination, preferring first to reflect upon it.

Watkins showed me a letter he had this morning received from J. McLean, the Postmaster-General, cautioning him against suffering anything to appear in the National Journal favorable to Mr. Crawford. Watkins said he did not understand it; nor was it altogether intelligible to me.

2d. Morning visits from Daniel Kidder, Stephen Longfellow, Enoch Lincoln, and Joshua Cushman, all members of the House of Representatives from Maine. They had a circular letter from the Governor of that State, and several resolutions of the Legislature, concerning encroachments by the British from New Brunswick upon the territory in dispute between the two countries, and depredations upon the timber. These members came to advise with me what was to be done.

I advised them to address a joint letter to the President,

requesting him to take such measures as were within the competency of the Executive of the United States to arrest this mischief. I thought he would direct me to write to the British Chargé d'Affaires here, requesting him to interpose with the Government of New Brunswick, and also to instruct Mr. Rush to address a remonstrance on the subject.

They appeared disposed to take this course. They enquired the state of the negotiation with Great Britain concerning the boundary.

I informed them that it was suspended, to be resumed, and that all the documents concerning it had been communicated confidentially to the Senate, and were thus in possession of the two Senators from the State.

Joel R. Poinsett brought and read to me a draft of several resolutions which he intends to propose to the House, as an individual member, relating to the Cuba piracies. They were to call energetically upon the Governor of Cuba to suppress the Society of the Mussulmanlis—a notorious piratical association, including, as Poinsett says, not less than a hundred thousand persons. He wishes to have these resolutions adopted and sent by the North Carolina to the Government of Cuba. He said he had no expectation that anything would be done by the Committee of Foreign Relations; no two members agreed in opinion upon any of the measures heretofore proposed.

I saw no objection to his resolutions.

Mr. Luckett introduced a Mr. Felix Houston, of Kentucky, who has the project of joining the Greek cause, and came for advice and a passport. I knew not what to advise without impairing my official neutrality; but referred him to persons better informed, and promised him a passport.

H. W. Dwight, G. Tomlinson, and W. C. Bradley were here successively, all intensely occupied with the approaching election, and all sanguine of an issue which will disappoint them. To me the alternatives are both distressing in prospect, and the most formidable is that of success. All the danger is on the pinnacle. The humiliation of failure will be so much more than compensated by the safety in which it will leave me, that

I ought to regard it as a consummation devoutly to be wished, and hope to find consolation in it.

Dwight spoke principally about Louis McLane, who has talked with him much as he has with others, declaring his fixed determination never to vote for General Jackson, but giving no expectation that he will, in any event, vote for me.

We were interrupted, and Dwight said he would soon see me again. Tomlinson and Bradley were both concerned about the vote of Connecticut. H. W. Edwards, Senator from that State, is devoted to Calhoun, and, through him, to Jackson. The members from the State in the House are six, and were originally, two for Crawford, Barber and Stoddard; two for Calhoun, Whitman and Sterling; and two for me, Tomlinson and Foote. Lanman, the other Senator, was for Crawford. The great majority of the people for me in the State, and the hopeless prospect of Mr. Crawford, had induced Barber and Stoddard to determine and avow that they should vote for me. In this state of things, Edwards, the friend of Calhoun, has been stimulating Barber and Stoddard to vote still for Crawford, so that the vote of the State may be divided and not count for me, and they have greatly been shaken by this process of Edwards. Bradley thinks Calhoun a complete masterpiece of duplicity, and not much better of Southard, as a subaltern under his direction. He told me of letters from Calhoun to C. P. Van Ness, and to others, when a Judge of the Supreme Court was to be appointed, and a Secretary of the Navy, and said there were so many things of the same stamp known to so many persons, that Calhoun's character was now pretty well understood.

I called at the President's with dispatches from H. Allen, in Chili, and from R. Rush, at London. The last answers to letters from me of 27th November last—the sixty-eighth day. Referring to the conversation that I had with the President yesterday, I asked if I had understood him correctly that he had determined not to make the nominations to the vacant offices at all.

He said I had.

I said I had understood the alternative was, that he should

make them before or after the election. So far as I was personally concerned, I should prefer that even now he would make the nominations before the election, rather than that he should omit to make them altogether. I had wished him to determine upon his choice now, without making it known, but not leave the nominations as prizes to be held out by, or to, any one to purchase votes. Among the candidates whom he had mentioned to me were two members of Congress, one holding, the other supposed to influence, votes. It would be difficult for the successor to nominate either of them, especially if the votes in question should be for him. The nominations belonged properly to his Administration, and my wish was that it should be really his Administration to the last moment of its existence. If the election should fall upon me, I should therefore entreat of him, as a favor, that he would make the nominations as his own, and as he would have made them at any other period of his Administration. If, as was more probable, General Jackson should be chosen, I should of course have nothing further to say; but, having no suspicion that he would anticipate his power of nomination by pledges, I presumed he would equally acquiesce in Mr. Monroe's making the nominations.

He said he would take this matter into full consideration, but he had already informed Mr. Elliott, of Georgia, that he should not make the nominations before the election, and he could not now change that determination without fluctuation of counsels. Thus it now rests.

3d. The flood of visitors is unceasing. Mr. Webster called and spent the evening with me. The excitement of electioneering is kindling into fury. George Kremer's "Another Card," in answer to that of H. Clay on Monday, appeared in the Intelligencer this morning. Mr. Clay called upon the House to institute an investigation. Kremer did the same, and a debate ensued upon it in the House, which is postponed till to-morrow.

In the Senate, a debate on the Piracy bill drew forth again Mr. L. W. Tazewell, Mills, James Barbour, and James Lloyd. I wrote this morning a short letter to the President, with a view to record my advice to him respecting the nominations. I

mentioned this intention to G. Sullivan, who first proposed to me to be the bearer of my letter, and then dissuaded me from writing altogether. He wrote me even a note to that effect. Hammond is here for electioneering purposes. Dr. Thornton brought me another letter from himself, of complaint and solicitation. Mr. Fürst came, to ask employment to work upon a Medallic History of the United States, for which I told him there must first be an Act of Congress. Jennings and Test applied in behalf of Harvey Gregg, for the appointment of Consul at Acapulco. Hogeboom, for the release of a prisoner from confinement, for which he gave me the President's order. Bibb spoke to me about Mr. Crawford's health, and said one of Mr. Crawford's ardent friends had told him in Kentucky that he believed it to be irrecoverable. General Brown had been in the House of Representatives, and had heard McDuffie's speeches. He has lost his faith in Calhoun's sincerity, and still has hopes of De Witt Clinton. English came for his last instructions, which are not ready. Reed came, to tell me that Webster would call upon me this evening. Southard called for the papers of Kirkpatrick's complaint against Bennett, whom he wishes to be suspended or dismissed, and Ray to be appointed in his place. Southard told me he would call upon me this evening, if he could; but he did not.

Webster's talk was about the election. He read to me a letter from Warfield, of Maryland, to him, concerning the election, and asking advice of him with regard to his vote; and the draft of an answer which he had prepared; and said he would send it or not, as I should think proper. He said that J. Lee, also of Maryland, had consulted him too, and was under impressions similar to those of Warfield. Their concern was lest, in the event of my election, the federalists should be treated as a proscribed party. Webster's answer to Warfield expressed entire confidence that I should be governed by no such considerations, and said that he should show this confidence by his vote. It intimated a hope that the object of the Administration would be to promote harmony among the people, and that the disposition would be marked by conferring some one prominent appointment upon a person of that party.

I observed that if that referred to the formation of an Administration, it would imply more than I could confirm.

He said it did not—but to an appointment perhaps of a Judge.

I said I approved altogether of the general spirit of his answer, and should consider it as one of the objects nearest to my heart to bring the whole people of the Union to harmonize together. I must, however, candidly tell him that I believed either General Jackson or Mr. Crawford would pursue precisely the same principle, and that no Administration could possibly succeed upon any other.

He said that General Van Rensselaer entertained similar sentiments to his own, and by his advice would call on me at eleven o'clock to-morrow morning.

4th. Samuel Lathrop, member from Massachusetts, came to enquire into the state of the negotiation with Great Britain concerning the Northeastern boundary. I told him of the conversations with me of several members of the delegation from Maine, and of the proceedings of the Legislature of that State on the subject, and observed that it might perhaps be proper for the delegation from Massachusetts to concur with that of Maine in their application to the President.

General Stephen Van Rensselaer came at eleven o'clock, and spoke to me much in the same manner as Webster had done. I answered him in the same manner, and, as he said, entirely to his satisfaction. He spoke of Mr. Van Buren, with whom he lodges, somewhat doubtfully—and also of L. McLane. He says they have not yet abandoned all hope of the success of Mr. Crawford; that A. Dickins is the messenger between them; that Mr. Crawford will not release them from the obligation of voting for him, though he thinks some of the caucus men will vote for me at once. He mentioned to me Solomon Van Rensselaer, of Albany, as a very ardent supporter of mine; and I told him I thought Mr. Van Buren had been wrong in the measures he took to prevent his appointment as Postmaster at Albany. I said Mr. Van Buren was a man of great talents and of good principles, but he had suffered them to be too much warped by party spirit. At other times he had followed

a more generous and wiser policy, and I hoped he would ultimately return to it.

As I was going to my office I met George Hay, who went to it with me, and asked me whether I thought this explosion between Clay and Kremer would affect the election. He premised that it was perhaps an improper question—in which case I should not answer it. I said I did not know whether it would have any effect, nor, if any, what it would be. I did not know upon what facts Mr. Kremer's charges were founded.

Hay said upon nothing but the inferences of his own muddy and contracted mind. He then added that he was not sorry for Clay, whom he had always considered as a mere political adventurer, and who had persecuted Mr. Monroe with the most virulent rancor. He did not prolong this conversation, which partook much of Mr. Hay's character. He is a warm partisan of Jackson, but wishes and supposes me to believe that he is an ardent friend of mine.

I went to the President's, with a list of nominations to be sent into the Senate next Monday. Among them was that of George Izard, as Governor of the Arkansas Territory. I told him that this was not one of the offices the nomination to which I had advised him to postpone.

He said he had so understood me; that General Izard was a federalist, and he wished on his own retirement to give some token of his disposition to conciliate that class of our citizens. He regretted that it had not been in his power to show the same disposition more frequently in his appointments. He had gone as far as was possible without forfeiting the confidence of his own supporters and thereby defeating the very object that he had at heart.

I delivered to the President the letter I had written him yesterday upon the subject of the nominations to the foreign missions, and told him that I wished to put it as a deposit in his hands, for a testimonial that I had not used those missions to promote any purpose of my own.

He took the paper, and said he would not communicate it to any one; that he was aware of the extreme circumspection with which it was necessary for me at this moment to act;

that his own situation was also one of great difficulty; that his impression at the beginning of the present session of Congress had been to leave these appointments to be made by his successor, whose confidential officers the persons receiving them would be. He had been afterwards urged to make the nominations, but had yielded to the consideration presented by me, in which he had thought there was great weight, that these nominations could scarcely have been made at this crisis without having some improper effect on the pending election. But, in determining upon the postponement, he had thought best to put it on the other ground, of leaving the appointments to his successor, because that, operating equally upon both, could not be attributed to the influence of either. He said he had no doubt of my kind and friendly disposition to himself, and not the most distant suspicion that I had used, or would use, those appointments for any electioneering purpose.

In the evening I went to the theatre, and saw three acts of "The School for Scandal"—Cooper as Charles Surface, Mr. and Mrs. Barnes as Sir Peter and Lady Teazle. With Mrs. Adams, I then went to an evening party at Dr. Cassin's, and afterwards to another at Mr. McLean's, the Postmaster-General's, at Georgetown. Here there was much talk of the proceedings in the House this day on the demand of H. Clay and G. Kremer for a committee of investigation. A vote of more than two to one for the appointment to-morrow of a committee of seven by ballot. There was an effort afterwards made to effect an accommodation, which failed. T. J. Rogers, formerly a member of Congress from Pennsylvania, now here, was at McLean's, and spoke to me with great uneasiness of this affair, assuring me that whatever the issue of the election might be, Pennsylvania would cheerfully acquiesce in it. I asked D. P. Cook to call on me to-morrow morning—which he promised.

5th. D. P. Cook called this morning, as he had promised. I reminded him of what he had told me of Ingham's conversations with him respecting the Government of Arkansas, and of McDuffie's talk with him in Ingham's chamber; and I asked him to put in writing the substance of all those conversations. I said I did not ask him to do this for me, but for himself. I

told him that all this would be history hereafter, and that those conversations would be an important part of history. He said he regretted not having written them down at the time. I said it would have been better then, but, the time being still very recent, little would now be lost of the substance, and the longer it should be delayed, the less full and correct would the statement be.

He said he would write it. The substance was, that Ingham, knowing Cook to be a candidate for the appointment of Governor of Arkansas, urged him to declare openly that he would vote for Jackson, and intimated that he should then have the appointment. Cook says he offended Ingham by his answer to this proffer, and Ingham has said nothing of it since. McDuffie's argument was to the same purpose; that General Jackson's election would depend upon his (Cook's) vote; that there was a moral obligation to vote for Jackson, who had the greatest number of electoral votes; that if I should be elected, it would only be by Clay's corrupt coalition with me, and that the people would be so disgusted with this that there would be a systematic and determined opposition from the beginning, so that the Administration could not get along. It would be overthrown, and he would be involved in its ruin.

Cook says that T. J. Rogers, last evening, after the party at McLean's, came to Cook's lodgings, and declared that if I should be elected, Pennsylvania would cordially support my Administration; that he could answer for three presses himself, and that before he left Harrisburg, Mowry, the State printer there, told him it was nearly certain I should be elected, and he was d—— glad of it. Cook says, too, that last night when Ingham came home after the failure of the attempt to effect an accommodation of the affair between Clay and Kremer, he said the sword was drawn and the scabbard thrown away.

Tracy and Crowninshield were here this morning, and gave accounts of the attempt at accommodation. An apology was drawn up disclaiming any intention of imputing corruption to Clay, and declaring that he knew no fact ascertaining that any bargain had been made, which Kremer professed himself ready to sign, and which Clay declared would be satisfactory to him.

But Kremer, after consulting the Pennsylvania delegation, or that part of them by which he is moved, declined signing the paper. Kremer is said to be an intemperate man, and to have acknowledged that he scarcely knew whether he had written the letter or not.

At half-past eleven I attended at the Capitol the meeting of the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund to make their annual report. Mr. Gaillard, the President of the Senate pro tempore, and Mr. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury, were present; the Chief-Justice and Attorney-General absent. Mr. Crawford received a note from Mr. Wirt, saying that he was confined to the house by indisposition. The report of the Secretary of the Treasury to the Board was read by me, at Mr. Crawford's request. The report of the Board to the two Houses of Congress was also read, and then signed in triplicates. A slight error was detected in the report of the Board, and corrected. The accompanying documents were read, with the exception of part of one of them—a list of payments by certain banks, which was long, and, Mr. Crawford said, had been fully examined at the Treasury. The finances of the country are in a very flourishing condition. On signing the papers, Mr. Crawford observed that he had yet so much rheumatism in the hand that he wrote with difficulty. He had asked me to read the papers and Mr. Wirt's note, as he could not easily read himself. His speech is more distinct in articulation than it was. The business of the Board occupied about an hour.

I then went into the Senate-chamber; it being Saturday, the Senate were not in session. The House of Representatives were engaged in balloting for a committee of seven upon the appeal of the Speaker in his collision with George Kremer. I have always, on this annual day for making the report of the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund, passed two or three hours afterwards in the House, witnessing their debates. From motives of delicacy, I abstained this day from going in.

I received a note from H. R. Warfield, M. H. R. from Maryland, dated yesterday, and asking me to appoint a time when I could see him this day; but it was too late.

6th. After the service I called to visit Mr. Webster. I asked

him to let Mr. Warfield know that I would be glad to see him at any time to-morrow morning before noon, at my house. On returning home, I found a dispatch from R. Rush of 31st December last, mentioning an interview which he had that day had with G. Canning, the British Secretary of Foreign Affairs, who informed him confidentially that the British Government had determined immediately to recognize the independence of Mexico, Colombia, and Buenos Ayres. I called at once on Mr. Salazar, the Colombian Minister, and read the dispatch to him; then took it to the President, with whom I found James Barbour, S. U. S. from Virginia, and G. Hay. Mr. Hay withdrew, and I read the dispatch. Governor Barbour remarked that this was precisely the result that I had anticipated from the conclusion of a treaty of commerce by our Minister, R. C. Anderson, at Bogota.

I then called and visited General La Fayette, to whom I communicated the information contained in Mr. Rush's dispatch. I enquired at Gadsby's for General Jackson, but he was at dinner. Returning, I met Mr. Obregon, the Mexican Minister, and informed him of the news from Mr. Rush.

A. H. Tracy spent the evening here, and T. Fuller about an hour of it. General Brown called twice at my house while I was out, and said he would come again about sunset, but did not. Tracy spoke of a singular change in the mind of J. J. Morgan, now a confirmed vote for Jackson. He is very apprehensive that Virginia will be lost, of which I have scarce a doubt. He is, however, now confident of New York, which I am not. Fuller is more sanguine. These fluctuations will soon be over. La Fayette showed me a letter to him, signed "Eleutheros," which, he told me, was from the French Consul at Edinburgh—very friendly to him and earnest for the Greeks. La Fayette himself is also ardent in their cause.

7th. The city swarms with strangers, and the succession of visitors this morning was so numerous that the names of several of them escaped my recollection. General Brown told me he had yesterday morning had a long conversation with the President, and had distinctly told him his impressions of the present and recent conduct of Calhoun. He said the

President had heard it with surprise. Brown himself is deeply affected by it. At the office, he showed me a letter from Ambrose Spencer, at Albany, whose election to the Senate hitches between the two Houses of the Legislature. He was nominated without formal opposition by the House of Assembly, having, however, only seventy-seven votes. In the Senate he had from ten to twelve votes, with at least twenty against him. These so scattered their votes that no nomination was made by the Senate, and they could not go into joint ballot. The day passed without completing the election, and now they must pass a law to fix another day for the choice. Spencer writes Brown that my friends in the Senate concurred in this postponement, from an opinion that he was hostile to me, which he solemnly protests he is not. His professions have been constantly friendly; his manifestations of inclinations, and his actions, so far as he has acted, constantly adverse. This species of duplicity pervades the conduct of so many public men in this country that it is scarcely possible to know upon whom any reliance can be placed.

Edwards came, to enquire about the nominations to foreign missions, and to urge the interest of Mr. Miller, of North Carolina, who is recommended for that to Guatemala. I told him how the matter stood, and the doubt whether the nominations would be made by Mr. Monroe at all. And when he should finally determine whether he would or would not make them, I promised to give Edwards seasonable notice of his determination.

Mr. Warfield came, upon the notice given him, as I had yesterday requested, by Mr. Webster. He said that he had not expressed his determination for whom he should vote in the House on Wednesday. His friends, Mr. Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, and Mr. Taney, of Baltimore, had urged him to vote for General Jackson, under an impression that if I should be elected, the Administration would be conducted on the principle of proscribing the federal party.

I said I regretted much that Mr. Carroll, for whose character I entertained a profound veneration, and Mr. Taney, of whose talents I had heard high encomium, should harbor such opinions

of me. I could assure him that I never would be at the head of any Administration of proscription to any party—political or geographical. I had differed from the federal party on many important occasions, but I had always done justice to the talents and services of the individuals composing it, and to their merits as members of this Union. I had been discarded by the federal party upon differences of principle, and I had not separated from one party to make myself the slave of another. I referred, in proof of my adherence to principle against party, to various acts of my public life, and Mr. Warfield declared himself perfectly satisfied with my exposition of my sentiments.

Mr. Vinton applied for collections of the public Congressional documents for the University in the State of Ohio. Mr. Addington came to enquire whether I had received official accounts of the intention of the British Government to acknowledge the independence of the South American republics. I mentioned to him the purport of the dispatch received yesterday from R. Rush—with which he appeared to be highly satisfied. I told him also that Mr. Fitzgerald had declined accepting the mission to this country—of which he had not been before informed.

Baron Tuyl brought me an extract from a dispatch received by him, concerning discriminating tonnage duties in Russia. It was not known to him, and we had much conversation concerning it. He had also a circular from Count Nesselrode. written in August last, relating to a new levy of men at that time to recruit the Russian army. The Baron will write to me upon the tonnage duty.

I sent to the President a draft of instructions to Commodore Rodgers. In the evening I attended the theatre with my family. Cooper's benefit—"Damon and Pythias" and "Katherine and Petruchio." The house was more crowded than I ever witnessed it. The President, General La Fayette, General Jackson, Mr. Crawford, and perhaps a hundred members of Congress, were there. The performances were good, but Cooper is getting into the decline of age. Between the tragedy and farce he recited "Alexander's Feast"—well.

8th. Bradley, Seymour, and Fuller came to give me advices respecting the prospects of election, but, from continual interruptions, could not freely converse with me. Force told me several incidents which occurred yesterday, indicating the approximation to the inevitable coalition between the Calhoun, Jackson, and Crawford forces. Wingate had a letter from Asa Clapp, of Portland, a sufferer by French spoliations—one of the Antwerp cases—urging that our Government should admit the French pretension to indemnity upon the eighth article of the Louisiana Convention, as a negotiation in offset to the claims of our citizens. General Wingate urged also the investigation of the charges against Mark Langdon Hill, Collector of Bath. Patterson and Randall wanted documents, of those deposited by the Commissioners under the Florida Treaty. I took to the President's the letter I had prepared to Commodore Rodgers, with an addition suggested by the President himself, and which he approved. This evening, Mrs. Adams's Tuesday party was more fully attended than ever before. There were sixteen Senators, sixty-seven members of the House, and at least four hundred citizens and strangers.

9th. May the blessing of God rest upon the event of this day!—the second Wednesday in February, when the election of a President of the United States for the term of four years, from the 4th of March next, was consummated. Of the votes in the electoral colleges, there were ninety-nine for Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee; eighty-four for John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts; forty-one for William Harris Crawford, of Georgia; and thirty-seven for Henry Clay, of Kentucky: in all, two hundred and sixty-one. This result having been announced, on opening and counting the votes in joint meeting of the two Houses, the House of Representatives immediately proceeded to the vote by ballot from the three highest candidates, when John Quincy Adams received the votes of thirteen, Andrew Jackson of seven, and William H. Crawford of four States. The election was thus completed, very unexpectedly, by a single ballot. Alexander H. Everett gave me the first notice, both of the issue of the votes of the electoral colleges as announced in the joint meeting, and of the final vote as

declared. Wyer followed him a few minutes afterwards. Mr. Bolton and Mr. Thomas, the Naval Architect, succeeded; and B. W. Crowninshield, calling, on his return from the House to his lodgings, at my house, confirmed the report. Congratulations from several of the officers of the Department of State ensued—from D. Brent, G. Ironside, W. Slade, and Josias W. King. Those of my wife, children, and family were cordial and affecting, and I received an affectionate note from Mr. Rufus King, of New York, written in the Senate-chamber after the event.

On my return home, James Strong, member from New York, came with some solicitude of enquiry concerning the obstacles to the election of Ambrose Spencer as Senator from that State in the place of Mr. King. He asked if my friends considered Spencer as hostile to me.

I said I believed they had considered him as favoring the election of General Jackson.

He asked if I did not consider Spencer pledged at least, if elected, not to come with purposes of hostility to the Administration.

I said I did not.

He said Spencer was an honest man, and if he gave such a pledge would be faithful to it.

After dinner, the Russian Minister, Baron Tuyl, called to congratulate me upon the issue of the election. I attended, with Mrs. Adams, the drawing-room at the President's. It was crowded to overflowing. General Jackson was there, and we shook hands. He was altogether placid and courteous. I received numerous friendly salutations. D. Webster asked me when I could receive the committee of the House to announce to me my election. I appointed to-morrow noon, at my own house. The committee consists of Webster, Vance, of Ohio, and Archer, of Virginia. I asked S. L. Southard, the Secretary of the Navy, to call on me to-morrow morning at ten o'clock. Mr. Daniel Brent had called on me this morning, and said that Mr. John Lee, member from Maryland, had told him that he should at the first ballot be obliged to vote for Jackson, but if the election should not be completed this day he would come and see

me to-morrow morning. He was disposed to give me his vote, but wished some explanation from me of certain passages of my oration delivered on the 4th of July, 1821, which had been offensive to the Roman Catholics. I said I would very readily see and converse on this subject with Mr. Lee, regretting that anything I had ever said in public should have hurt the religious feelings of any person. Dr. Watkins came likewise, and expressed much confidence in the issue that took place, but urging me, if it should be otherwise, and I should attend the drawing-room this evening, to carry a firm and confident countenance with me, and remarking that a bold outside was often a herald to success. There was, fortunately, no occasion for this little artifice. I enclosed Mr. R. King's note, with a letter of three lines, to my father, asking for his blessing and prayers on the event of this day, the most important day of my life, and which I would close as it began, with supplications to the Father of mercies that its consequences may redound to His glory and to the welfare of my country. After I returned from the drawing-room, a band of musicians came and serenaded me at my house. It was past midnight when I retired.

Although the brief notes which follow, relative to this event, have already found a place elsewhere, their presence in this immediate connection seems almost indispensable to the completeness of the picture.

It is much to be regretted that no adequate notice has yet been taken of the eminent services of Rufus King; nor have any of the valuable papers which he must have left behind him seen the light. Few public men have served so long or acted in more responsible positions. His relations with both the Adamses had been sometimes intimate, and always friendly: hence it was natural that he should feel a strong interest in the issue of the present struggle. No sooner was it absolutely decided and the news had passed from the House of Representatives to the Senate-chamber, than he at once indited and sent to Mr. Adams by a special messenger the following note:

RUFUS KING TO JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

SENATE-CHAMBER, 9th February, 1825.

MY DEAR SIR:—

We have this moment heard the issue of the election, and I send you and your venerable father my affectionate congratulations upon your choice as President of the United States on the first ballot of the House of Representatives. I include your father, as I consider your election as the best amends for the injustice of which he was made the victim.

To me and mine, the choice has been such as we have cordially hoped and expected.

RUFUS KING.

The recipient of this note in his turn sent it immediately by post to his father at Quincy, with the following accompaniment:

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS TO JOHN ADAMS.

WASHINGTON, 9th February, 1825.

MY DEAR AND HONORED FATHER:—

The enclosed note from Mr. King will inform you of the event of this day, upon which I can only offer you my congratulations and ask your blessings and prayers.

Your affectionate and dutiful son,

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

John Adams was at this time quite infirm in body, yet he did not fail to respond to the felicitations of his son:

JOHN ADAMS TO JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

QUINCY, 18th February, 1825.

I have received your letter of the 9th. Never did I feel so much solemnity as upon this occasion. The multitude of my thoughts and the intensity of my feelings are too much for a mind like mine, in its ninetieth year. May the blessing of God Almighty continue to protect you to the end of your life, as it has heretofore protected you in so remarkable a manner from your cradle! I offer the same prayer for your lady and your family—and am

Your affectionate father,

JOHN ADAMS.

This may fairly be classed among the rare dramatic events of history.

10th. Mr. Southard called, as I had requested, at ten. I invited him to remain at the head of the Navy Department; to which he consented. I told him that I should offer the Department of State to Mr. Clay, and should invite Mr. Crawford to remain in the Department of the Treasury. I read to him the answer which I had written for the notification which I expected. He suggested a very judicious objection to one passage of it, which I altered.

At noon, Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts, Joseph Vance, of Ohio, and William S. Archer, of Virginia, came as a committee of the House of Representatives and announced to me that in the recent election of a President of the United States, no person having received a majority of all the votes of the electors appointed, and the choice having consequently devolved upon the House of Representatives, that House, proceeding in the manner prescribed in the Constitution, did yesterday choose me to be President of the United States for four years, commencing on the 4th day of March next.

I observed to the committee that the only preceding occasion since the establishment of the Constitution of the United States upon which a similar notification had been made from the House of Representatives was at the election of Mr. Jefferson, who had returned to the committee a written answer. I had thought it would be proper to follow this example, and I read, and delivered to Mr. Webster, the answer that I had prepared.

The committee informed me that they had already notified the President of this election.

The committee reported my answer to the House, where it was read. Mr. George Hay had mentioned to me last evening that he had a communication to make to me from a person of consideration in the State of Pennsylvania. He came this morning, and told me it was Mr. T. J. Rogers, who had assured him that if my Administration should be conducted upon sound principles he would support it, and he had no doubt the State

of Pennsylvania would do the same. Mr. Appleton arrived this morning, with dispatches from Mr. Nelson, at Madrid. Mr. Addington came, to enquire of the prospects respecting the Convention for the suppression of the slave-trade.

This evening I wrote to Mr. Crawford, inviting him to remain at the head of the Treasury. Attended, with Mrs. Adams, the military ball at Carusi's Rooms. The President, General La Fayette, and Mr. Calhoun were there.

11th. Visitors. S. L. Southard. Arthur Livermore, member from New Hampshire, anxious that Mr. Crawford should have the offer of remaining in the Treasury. Lowrie had mentioned it to him. H. Niles, of Baltimore; Joseph Wheaton; P. Force; D. P. Cook; G. Sullivan, a conversation with whom, yesterday, had been interrupted, and was now resumed. He said he would tell me what the Calhounites said: that if Mr. Clay should be appointed Secretary of State, a determined opposition to the Administration would be organized from the outset; that the opposition would use the name of General Jackson as its head; that the Administration would be supported only by the New England States—New York being doubtful, the West much divided, and strongly favoring Jackson, as a Western man, Virginia already in opposition, and all the South decidedly adverse. The Calhounites had also told him what Administration would satisfy them: namely, Joel R. Poinsett, Secretary of State, Langdon Cheves, Secretary of the Treasury, John McLean, now Postmaster-General, Secretary of War, and Southard, of the Navy.

I asked Sullivan with whom he had held these conversations. He said, with Calhoun himself, and with Poinsett. I told Sullivan that I would some day call on him to testify to these facts in a Court of justice. He said, surely not. I insisted that I would, and told him that he would find it necessary under this threatened opposition of Mr. Calhoun, between him and me; that I had no doubt Mr. Calhoun, in holding this language to him, intended it should come to me, and that its object was to intimidate me, and deter me from the nomination of Mr. Clay; that I had heard the same intimations from him through other channels; and, in all probability, at some future day some oc-

casion would arise of necessity for proving the facts judicially, in which case I should certainly call upon him.

He said he should certainly then refuse to answer.

I said his refusal to answer would be as good for me as the answer itself.

He then said surely I would not call upon him to betray a private and confidential conversation, which he had only told me to make me acquainted with all that he knew interesting to me at the moment; that in telling it he had already violated the confidence of Mr. Calhoun, who, far from intending that it should be reported to me, had strictly enjoined it upon him to say nothing of it to any one.

I said this altered the case, and he might consider my declared intention of calling on him to testify publicly to these facts as withdrawn. I nevertheless believed Mr. Calhoun had intended he should report to me his threats of opposition in the event of Mr. Clay's appointment, and believed that if he would ask Calhoun's permission to communicate the substance of it to me, he would give it.

This conversation, connected with Ingham's and McDuffie's electioneering siege upon D. P. Cook, Richard M. Johnson's disclosures to me at the drawing-room, and Benton's screw upon Scott, with Poinsett's recommendation to the President of Benton as Minister to Mexico, unfolds the system of opposition as formed by Mr. Calhoun.

It is to bring in General Jackson as the next President, under the auspices of Calhoun. To this end the Administration must be rendered unpopular and odious, whatever its acts and measures may be, and Mr. Calhoun avows himself prepared to perform this part. I am at least forewarned. It is not in man that walketh to direct his steps.

Joseph Anderson, First Comptroller of the Treasury, Richard Harrison, First Auditor, and Joseph Nourse, the Registrar, came together, and congratulated me upon my election. Messrs. Emmet, D. B. Ogden, and Hamilton, from New York, counsellors in attendance upon the Supreme Court, now in session, were here; also Mr. Fitzhugh, of Virginia, and Major Vandeventer, Chief Clerk of the Department of War.

I was at the President's, and again repeated the request that he would make the nominations which had been postponed till after the election. He said he would take it into consideration. I told the President I had invited Mr. Crawford to remain at the head of the Treasury Department, and showed him the letter I had received from him this morning, in very friendly terms declining the offer. I then said that I should offer the Department of State to Mr. Clay, considering it due to his talents and services, to the Western section of the Union, whence he comes, and to the confidence in me manifested by their delegations; that for the Treasury and War Departments I should be glad to take his advice, and to consult him with reference to other objects of public interest, if it would be agreeable to him.

He said he would readily give me his opinions upon any subject I should desire; that upon his own election he had consulted his predecessor, Mr. Madison; he had then been very earnestly pressed with regard to the formation of his Administration, and by no one with more importunity than by Jonathan Russell; that he had named to Mr. Madison the persons whom he proposed to nominate, and Mr. Madison had fully approved them. I understood him as wishing that I would pursue the same course.

12th. Mr. Rufus King, Senator from New York, came, and spent part of the evening with me. Most of the visitors came to congratulate me on the event of the election. Several of them, particularly of the members of Congress, conversed with me upon the prospects of public affairs and the formation of an Administration. I had received yesterday a note from H. Clay requesting an interview, for which I appointed half-past six in the evening. He then came, and we had a conversation of about an hour. I then offered him the nomination to the Department of State.

He said he would take it into consideration, and answer me as soon as he should have time to consult his friends.

I desired him to take his own time; but he promised if anything should occur requiring that he should hasten his answer, he would, upon my giving him notice of it, answer imme-

diately. He made light of the threatened opposition, and thought all the projects of that nature which have been announced were mere ebullitions of disappointment at the issue of the election, which would soon be abandoned. He said that as to his affair with Kremer, if Kremer had gone before the committee, he (Clay) could have proved something very much like a conspiracy against himself. He would have proved that Kremer had disclaimed in the most explicit terms to several persons his having intended any imputation against Clay, and declared his readiness to sign a paper to that effect, from which he had been dissuaded by Ingham, Buchanan, and McDuffie.

General Brown entered this morning into an argument to convince me that it would not be expedient that Mr. Clay should be Secretary of State. He had a high opinion of Mr. Clay, but if I should offer him the Department he hoped he would not accept it, and he believed it would be better if I should not offer it to him. General Brown wished that De Witt Clinton should be the Secretary of State. I listened to what he said, and then told him I had already made the offer to Mr. Clay. Brown's next wish is that Clinton should be Secretary of the Treasury. The members of Congress all advise variously for the formation of a Cabinet, and many are anxious to be treated confidentially.

13th. Mr. Southard, Dr. Everett, Colonel R. M. Johnson, George Hay, and Tench Ringgold, the Marshal of the District, were here this morning. Southard came about the suspension of Bennett as Consul at Pernambuco. He spoke also with some embarrassment of Mr. Calhoun's present conduct and movements. Dr. Everett had a letter to send to Mr. Nelson, in Spain.

Colonel Johnson assured me of his perfect acquiescence in the event of the election. He urged me very warmly in behalf of James Barbour, the Senator from Virginia, for one of the Departments, preferring him to his brother, Philip P., who, he thought, would not accept if it should be offered to him.

Mr. Hay's object was to communicate to me the friendly overture of T. J. Rogers. He had mentioned it once before.

The Marshal came to speak of arrangements to be made for

the 4th of March, which I thought it best to defer for the present. He said he would attend to them at any time when I should give him notice.

15th. Visitors. Felix Houston, for a passport and letter to Mr. Brown, our Minister at Paris, going to join the Greeks. S. Eddy, member from Rhode Island, would like the Collector's office at Providence. I told him I should make no change, unless for misconduct. Dr. Everett, Dr. Stoughton, and L. Rice, of the Columbia College, to congratulate. H. Seymour and R. C. Mallary, with information and advice. Joseph Blunt, just from Philadelphia. G. W. La Fayette, to apologize for not dining with us this day—having just heard of the death of his wife's mother, Madame de Tracy. Governor Duvall introduced Mr. Bellamy, from Florida.

At the office, Bishop Kemp, with Dr. Hawley. A. H. Tracy and D. Marvin, to speak of De Witt Clinton. Deep anxiety of his friends that he should come into the Administration. Mission to G. B. Tracy, to write to him. Durfee introduced Hunter, son of the former Senator from Rhode Island; wishes to go as bearer of dispatches to France. At the President's, Owen of Lanark there; his philanthropic plans. G. S. Bourne applies to be private Secretary; declined. We had company to dine—Beckwith, Denison, Stanley, Wortley, Labouchere,[1] and twenty others. Evening party at Salazar's. Ball. Watkins. G. Hay's remarks at Southard's this morning. Bitterness against Crawford.

16th. Sullivan, much affected at being told by Watkins that he was considered not my friend, gave me an explanation. His opposition was to Clay's being Secretary of State. Boyd; is about returning to Boston; spoke to me of H. Orne. His efforts against me, from animosity against the Dearborn and Wingate families. Frye; spoke of General Jackson; would take in ill part the offer of the War Department. Seymour; says the Washington City Gazette has been purchased by the

[1] Mr. Denison, at a later period Speaker of the House of Commons for many years, and created Viscount Ossory; Mr. Stanley, more widely known as the late Earl of Derby; Mr. Wortley, afterwards Lord Wharncliffe, and Mr. Labouchere, afterwards Lord Taunton,—all of them now deceased.

opposition from the stump-meeting, at which Mower attended. Long conversation with Webster. He will serve the next Congress as a member, and not stand against J. W. Taylor as Speaker. Will be glad, at a proper time, to go abroad.

23d. S. L. Southard here. Kelly's wish to advise about the nomination of Clay. A. H. Everett, enquires of my views concerning him. Read my draft of address to him. S. Smith. Letters to him about Buenos Ayres; his proposal to *amend* the treaty with Colombia. D. Brent. Message and report, with papers from Addington about the interruption to our fishermen. S. Bell and W. Plumer, Jr., to recommend J. F. Parrott for Minister to Mexico. Dr. Sewall, with a recommendation. Met Mower, and then G. Hay, as I was going to my office. Hay charged by T. M. Randolph with usury. Letter from my father.[1] Anonymous letter. Rowlett, about Tanner's Atlases for our foreign missions. Neal, concerning evidence for Slave Indemnity Commission. Evening at home, reading and writing. D. Brent's remarks on my draft of address.

24th. N. Van Zandt here, with papers relating to J. P. Jones, received from Mr. Jefferson. W. Plumer. L. McLane, of Delaware, anxious for his father's renomination as Collector of Wilmington. At the office, Appleton, for settlement of his accounts. P. Force. Niles's disappointment at losing the printing of Congress. L. Anderson, with letter from his brother, urging for a short leave of absence. McKean, a Clerk in the Treasury, called with two lists of officers of the Customs and Land Offices, whose commissions will expire next month. S. Van Wyck, of Dutchess County, New York, to recommend a person as Consul at La Rochelle. Spoke of Tallmadge and the expectations of his friends. P. Farrelly. Showed me letters of congratulation from Meadville. At the President's; Calhoun came in. Treaty with Mackintosh for Creek Indians—ceding all their lands in Georgia for four hundred thousand dollars. Question of rank between Scott and Gaines. Office, R. W. Meade. Report to Senate to be made in his case.

25th. Day, much indisposed. Visitors. E. Roberts, with a

[1] See page 504.

subscription for a Welsh Methodist chapel in the State of New York. Charles Whitlaw, the man of vapor baths—going to New York. Joshua Cushman, about M. L. Hill, and to enquire about a Cabinet. S. F. Vinton, member from Ohio. Daniel P. Cook, who gave me his statement of a conversation with Ingham, McDuffie, and Isaacs, 21st January. J. B. Thomas, introduced Kane, the new Senator from Illinois. W. B. Randolph, Clerk in the Registrar of the Treasury's Office, complained of not obtaining advancement. Mr. Tileston, who attends the exhibition of manufactures. Rind, heretofore editor of the Washington Federalist, for a place. Leland, also for a place. At the office, a Mr. Denison, from Virginia, a stranger, came to *see* me.

At the President's. I read to him my intended address, excepting the part relating to his Administration. He said he had done the same with Mr. Madison. He also said he had drawn up a paper concerning parties, the views of which exactly corresponded with those of my address. At the office, Fuller. Opinions concerning Clinton; very unfavorable. Evening at the Capitol. Heard part of Owen of Lanark's lecture or address.

26th. J. W. Taylor here. Conversation with him concerning himself, not finished. Expectations and pretensions of Clinton's friends. Philip Thompson and David White, members from Kentucky, came and took leave. W. N. Edwards, to recommend William Miller, of North Carolina, as Chargé d'Affaires to Guatemala. I told Edwards I should nominate Miller. Ruggles, the disappointed candidate for the Collectorship of New Bedford.

Attended at the President's, at the distribution of medals to the military officers of the late war—Brown; Scott; Macomb; Harrison, represented by General Jessup; Gaines, by General Houston, of Tennessee; P. B. Porter, by D. Marvin, member from New York; and Miller, by Daniel Webster, member from Boston. The President read addresses to them all, to which written answers were also read, excepting by General Houston and Mr. Webster, who answered orally.

G. Hay asked if I would take the President's chariot. I said

the carriage was an affair for the ladies to decide upon. Gave Southard a copy of my address.

At the office. Blunt. Le Ray de Chaumont, for the copy of a document. Mareuil and Tuyl—an appointed meeting. Etiquette with foreign Ministers; wish to be distinguished from the crowd; obstructions to their carriages; New Year's day; inauguration. I told them of the difficulties in making a change; the habits and opinions of our people; European usages, &c. They intimated the intention of writing to their Governments about it, perhaps of absenting themselves, and Mareuil hinted at retaliation upon our Minister in Europe; discussion altogether temperate. Tuyl remained. Articles in National Journal of 11th and 12th February. Rumors of war. Gave him satisfactory explanations. He took leave of me as Secretary of State—very kindly.

27th. Visits from H. Clay and Joseph Blunt. Clay spoke of the formation of the Administration, and was confident there would be no opposition in the Senate to the nomination of him as Secretary of State, or if there should be, that it could not obtain at the utmost more than ten votes. He said that the attempt of Ingham and McDuffie to use Kremer for their purposes would recoil upon themselves; that overtures had been made to him from Jackson's, and still more from Crawford's, friends; that Elliot, of Georgia, had told him that he should have the Department of State, or anything that he would accept, if Mr. Crawford should be elected; and Mr. Thomas, of Illinois, offered him even a promise that Crawford would, in that event, serve only four years. He said that Kremer's paper, announced in the Washington City Gazette of last night, and which Gales and Seaton refused to publish, is violent and furious, with eighteen or twenty certificates, implicating many individuals; but that Kremer had offered to sign a paper which declared that he had never intended to charge upon Clay anything like corruption; and the evident object of Kremer's publication at this time would tend to its own defeat.

Blunt spoke of a dinner this day at Williamson's, at which Jackson, Calhoun, and Cheves were to be present, and said that Mr. S. L. Gouverneur had just arrived from Albany and New

York, with stores of opinions against the appointment of Clay as Secretary of State. Mr. Le Ray de Chaumont and his son and J. W. Taylor dined with us. Mr. and Mrs. James Lloyd, J. L. and G. Sullivan, and Mr. Owen of Lanark, spent the evening here. J. W. Taylor remained till near midnight. Long conversation with him.

28th. Joseph Anderson, Comptroller of the Treasury, with list of officers of the Customs whose commissions expire in the month of March, and officers of the Land Office. I told him I should renominate all against whom there is no complaint. He approves the principle. Spoke favorably of A. McLane, Collector of Wilmington, Delaware. James Barbour and S. L. Southard. Rowan, the new Senator from Kentucky. Mark Alexander, member, with a Dr. King, of Virginia, whom he introduced. John Bailey, member. General Harrison, the new Senator from Ohio. Reynolds, member from Tennessee, with Messrs. Riddle and Tomms, of Delaware. Foot, of Connecticut, with Judge Bristol, who brought me a letter from Oliver Wolcott, Governor of Connecticut. Noyes Barber, member.

Mr. Pedersen, the Danish Minister Resident; apologized for the failure of his proposal to negotiate a commercial treaty; said it was owing to the death, last January, of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Rosenkrantz. John Branch, Senator from North Carolina, introduced a Judge Cooper, of Tennessee. Dr. Watkins, the Mayor, Weightman, Colonel Henderson, and Captain Kuhn came as a committee from the subscribers and managers of the Inauguration ball, to be given next Friday, to invite me to it, and my family. Moses Hayden, member from New York; spoke of Governor Clinton, with a hope he would accept the mission to London. John Sergeant. D. Brent. W. C. Bradley. Joseph Blunt. Mr. Watmough, with a letter of introduction from Joseph Reed. Judge Thompson, to speak again for H. Wheaton, who is willing to go as Chargé d'Affaires to the Netherlands. Lieutenant Marston of the Navy. At the office about four o'clock. Dade Nowland came with recommendations and applying for a clerkship. Hodgson, who had written to me to solicit an appointment as my private Secretary. I told him I should, for the

present, have none other than my son. Mr. Clay spent part of the evening with me. Satisfied that the opposition to his nomination in Senate, if made at all, will be trifling in numbers. His contempt for Kremer, whose new publication against Clay appeared this evening in the City Gazette. Said he should answer it, and would write a note to Ingham and McDuffie, saying that unless they disavowed having any concern with it he should treat it as their paper. He pressed strongly the appointment of Harrison as Minister to Mexico.

March 1st. Visitors. A. H. Everett, W. Plumer, James Barbour, A. H. Tracy, Elisha Whittlesey, member from Ohio, W. McLean, from the same State, with a Mr. Johnson. N. Van Dyke, Senator from Delaware. George Hay, for an answer about the carriage. I told him I was supplied with one. Commodore Tingey. And at the office, F. Baylies, member; R. R. Keane, with his old claim in a new shape; General Wingate, to enquire what would be done with the complaint against M. L. Hill, of Bath; Mr. Barroso Pereira, the Portuguese Chargé d'Affaires; S. L. Southard, Secy. Navy; and Payne Todd, son of Mrs. Madison, who offered to take messages to the Senate for me after the 4th, if I had not otherwise provided. I was at the President's, and there met Mr. Calhoun, who came with papers, to wind up the affairs of the Department of War under this Administration. We had company to dine—the Judges of the Supreme Court, Marshall, Washington, Johnson, Duvall, Story, and Thompson, and Messrs. Bibb, Blunt, Bristol, Emmet, W. Findlay, Hoffman, C. J. Ingersoll, Edward Ingersoll, Walter Jones, Knapp, D. B. Ogden, J. Sergeant, Swann, Watmough, H. Wheaton, and H. L. White. Richard Peters, Jr., came in the evening. C. J. Ingersoll and Peters spoke in very different terms of R. Rush and his expected nomination as Secretary of the Treasury.

2d. Visitors. General R. K. Call, the delegate from Florida. B. W. Crowninshield. I read to him my intended address, but was so hoarse that I could scarcely get through. Colonel Abraham Eustis, applying for the office of Adjutant-General of the army. Says he cannot stay at his present post—Old Point Comfort. James Barbour returned the copy of my ad-

dress; his remarks; objects to one or two words. T. Scott, a Judge in Ohio; thinks it would be well if a head of Department should be taken from that State. I asked, whom? He said perhaps J. McLean, the Postmaster-General. Joseph Gales applied for a copy of my address, to be delivered on the 4th, for an extra Intelligencer. A Mr. Clement, to apply for the appointment of Collector at Wilmington, Delaware. He brought numerous recommendations. Mr. Seymour, Senator from Vermont. P. Markley, member from Pennsylvania, with a Mr. Riley. D. P. Cook, with papers relating to an old claim of N. Edwards. Colonel Jones came, to claim as of right the station of Adjutant-General of the army, and brought numerous vouchers of his merits. W. N. Edwards, of North Carolina, with Mr. Mann, of that State. Stephen Longfellow, of Maine, with a Mr. Cobb. Governor Stevens, of Maryland. Judge A. B. Woodward. W. C. Bradley, about Governor C. P. Van Ness's claims for salary as Commissioner under the fifth article of the Treaty of Ghent. J. S. Skinner, of Baltimore, W. L. Brent and Mr. Gurley, members of the House from Louisiana, to take leave. John Gray. And at the office, A. H. Tracy. H. U. Addington, the British Chargé d'Affaires, to ask for an answer about the Slave-Trade Convention. T. Scott, Blunt, and Colonel Jones again. G. Tomlinson and A. H. Everett. I received at the office a note from the President, mentioning that he would go this evening to the Capitol, to sign bills; this being, by the joint rules of the two Houses, the last day upon which bills could be presented for his signature. I accordingly went to the Capitol at seven in the evening, immediately after dinner; but the joint rule was suspended, and the President did not come. I went into the House of Representatives, and remained there till between ten and eleven, when I walked home.

3d. This day closed the second session of the Eighteenth Congress, and the Administration of James Monroe as President of the United States. I had passed a sleepless night, occasioned by the unceasing excitement of many past days; the pressure of business in the Department of State, always heavy at the close of a session of Congress, now redoubled at the close of my own service of eight years in the office of Secretary; the bustle of

preparation for the new condition upon which I was to enter; the multitudes of visitors, upon great varieties of business, or for curiosity; the anxieties of an approximating crisis, and, above all, the failing and threatening state of my wife's health. The stream of visitors continued this morning. S. Lathrop, M. H. R. from Massachusetts, came with a Mr. Alfred Smith, of Connecticut, applying for surveys of a part of Connecticut River. Mr. Wainwright, of Boston, returning from a Western tour. Messrs. Foote and Laurence, members of the House of Representatives from New York, to take leave. Mr. Southard, the Secretary of the Navy. Colonel Jones again, concerning his appointment as Adjutant-General of the army. Mr. West. Mr. Phillips. A. Thompson, member from Pennsylvania, with a Mr. Bond. Mr. Symmes, Mr. Cruft, of Boston, A. H. Everett, D. Brent, Mr. Carroll, General Dearborn, Mr. Palmer, and Force, who came for a copy of my address.

At eleven this morning I went to the Capitol, where I found the President signing bills. We remained there till near four in the afternoon. Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Southard, Daniel Brent, George Hay, S. L. Gouverneur, and Dr. Everett were also there. A committee of both Houses came, and announced to the President that, unless he had any further communication to make to them, they were ready to adjourn. He answered that he had nothing further to communicate, and the two Houses adjourned about four o'clock. Thus ended the Eighteenth Congress of the United States. But the Senate had an evening session upon Executive business. From the Capitol I went to the Department of State, and closed the performance of my duties as Secretary of State. General Daniel Parker came, and endeavored to convince me that instead of nominating Colonel Jones as Adjutant-General of the army I should order him to perform the duties, as if he were entitled to the office, without a new appointment. I was not convinced. E. Wyer was at the office, and left it with me. I took leave of D. Brent, the Chief Clerk, and of Mr. Ironside and Josias W. King, two of the Clerks. Mr. Clay was here in the evening. Near midnight I received from the office of the National Intelligencer a proof copy of my address, which I corrected, and returned.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE PRESIDENCY.

UNFORTUNATELY, the materials for elucidating this important period in the career of the writer are not continuous. The overwhelming pressure occasioned by the constant interruption of visitors, as well as the performance of imperative official duties, evidently disabled him from persevering in this minor duty, and caused gaps in the record which he never afterwards found time to fill. Yet, from what is left, enough will be gathered to supply a fair conception of the position in which he found himself, the difficulties by which he was surrounded, and the manner in which he met them. The greater part of the record consists rather of minutes for the construction of a full narrative than of the narrative itself; yet, in the absence of the latter, they may, however imperfect, seem better than nothing to preserve the thread of his personal history. It will be perceived that the text is now for the most part founded upon the visits of the various persons drawn to visit him.

March 4th, 1825.—After two successive sleepless nights, I entered upon this day with a supplication to Heaven, first, for my country; secondly, for myself and for those connected with my good name and fortunes, that the last results of its events may be auspicious and blessed. About half-past eleven o'clock I left my house with an escort of several companies of militia and a cavalcade of citizens, accompanied in my carriage by Samuel L. Southard, Secretary of the Navy, and William Wirt, Attorney-General, and followed by James Monroe, late President of the United States, in his own carriage. We proceeded to the Capitol, and to the Senate-chamber. The Senate were in session, and John C. Calhoun presiding in the chair, having been previously sworn into office as Vice-President of the United States and President of the Senate. The Senate

adjourned, and from the Senate-chamber, accompanied by the members of that body and by the Judges of the Supreme Court, I repaired to the hall of the House of Representatives, and, after delivering from the Speaker's chair my inaugural address to a crowded auditory, I pronounced from a volume of the laws held up to me by John Marshall, Chief Justice of the United States, the oath faithfully to execute the office of President of the United States, and, to the best of my ability, to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States. After exchanging salutations with the late President, and many other persons present, I retired from the hall, passed in review the military companies drawn up in front of the Capitol, and returned to my house with the same procession which accompanied me from it. I found at my house a crowd of visitors, which continued about two hours, and received their felicitations. Before the throng had subsided, I went myself to the President's house, and joined with the multitude of visitors to Mr. Monroe there. I then returned home to dine, and in the evening attended the ball, which was also crowded, at Carusi's Hall. Immediately after supper I withdrew, and came home. I closed the day as it had begun, with thanksgiving to God for all His mercies and favors past, and with prayers for the continuance of them to my country, and to myself and mine.

5th. General Brown called on me early this morning, to enquire concerning the appointment of an Adjutant-General. I told him I should nominate Colonel Roger Jones; with which he declared himself much gratified. The office has been in substance three years vacant, in consequence of a difference between the President and the Senate on the construction of the law reducing the army. A multitude of visitors of congratulation, and to take leave, absorbed the day. James Barbour and S. L. Southard were here immediately after breakfast; and among the visitors were Mr. Macon, Senator from North Carolina, and T. W. Cobb, Senator from Georgia.

An Administration was to be formed. Soon after noon, James Lloyd and Nathaniel Macon came, as a committee from the Senate, to notify me that they were in session, ready to

receive any communication from me; to which I answered that I should make them a communication at an early hour this day. On the evening of the 3d, I had, at about nine o'clock, received a note from Mr. Monroe, informing me that he had shortly before received a letter from Mr. Crawford resigning the office of Secretary of the Treasury. I now sent by Daniel Brent, Chief Clerk of the Department of State, a message to the Senate, nominating—

Henry Clay, of Kentucky, to be Secretary of State.

Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of the Treasury.

James Barbour, of Virginia, Secretary for the Department of War.

Alexander Hill Everett, of Massachusetts, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Spain.

Christopher Hughes, of Maryland, Chargé d'Affaires to the Netherlands.

Thomas Ludwell Lee Brent, of Virginia, Chargé d'Affaires to Portugal.

John M. Forbes, of Massachusetts, Chargé d'Affaires at Buenos Ayres.

William Miller, of North Carolina, Chargé d'Affaires to Guatemala.

Condy Raguet, of Pennsylvania, Chargé d'Affaires to Brazil, and

Lieutenant-Colonel Roger Jones, Adjutant-General of the Army.

I sent at the same time four other messages with nominations:

1. Officers of the Customs, whose commissions are about expiring, renominated.

2. Registrars of the Land Offices and Receivers of public moneys, renominated.

3. Navy Agents.

4. Governor and Legislative Council of Florida; certain Consuls; and others.

Most of the renominations had been already made by Mr. Monroe, but, as the commissions of the incumbents would not expire within the term of his Administration, the Senate had declined acting upon them. Efforts had been made by some

of the Senators to obtain different nominations, and to introduce a principle of change or rotation in office at the expiration of these commissions; which would make the Government a perpetual and unintermitting scramble for office. A more pernicious expedient could scarcely have been devised. The office of Marshal for the district of Indiana was that upon which the principal struggle was made. John Vawter, the incumbent, had been renominated by Mr. Monroe. There was no complaint against him, but numerous recommendations, especially from Senators, of Noah Noble, a brother of the Senator from Indiana, for the appointment; Mr. Noble, the Senator, ostensibly taking no part in the canvass. But a few days before the Presidential election I received a letter from John Test, one of the members of the House from Indiana, informing me that the Senate would not act upon the nomination by Mr. Monroe of Vawter; recommending Noble, and that Vawter's name should be withdrawn, to place the candidates on an equal footing. I mentioned this suggestion to Mr. Monroe, but neither he nor I was inclined to take the hint. Samuel Eddy also, a member of the House from Rhode Island, informed me that he would accept the office of Collector at Providence, if appointed to it, in the place of T. Coles, whose commission is expiring. He intimated that Coles was personally incompetent, but that no one would take the responsibility of complaining against him. Great interest was made against the re-appointment of Allen McLane, Collector at Wilmington, Delaware, and two persons were strongly recommended for his place; there were complaints against him, but of a character altogether indefinite. I determined to renominate every person against whom there was no complaint which would have warranted his removal; and renominated every person nominated by Mr. Monroe, and upon whose nomination the Senate had declined acting. Mr. Monroe always acted on this principle of renomination. I did not this day send nominations for the missions to Great Britain or to Mexico, nor of a Chargé d'Affaires to Sweden. The first I leave open some days, at the earnest request of some of Mr. Clinton's friends, for the possible chance that he may reconsider his determination. I

wait for the decision of the Senate upon the nomination of C. Hughes, to vacate his place at Stockholm; and I concluded, after much deliberation, to offer to Joel Roberts Poinsett, of South Carolina, the nomination of Minister to Mexico. I accordingly sent for him this morning and made him the offer. It had been made to him by Mr. Monroe early during the late session of Congress, and declined upon considerations most of which do not now apply. He made, however, now, two objections: one, that, upon vacating his seat in Congress, a very troublesome and unprincipled man would probably be chosen in his place; the other, that he had recommended to Mr. Monroe another person for the mission to Mexico. I knew who this person was. It was Thomas H. Benton, a Senator from Missouri, who, from being a furious personal and political enemy of General Jackson, became, about the time of this recommendation, a partisan not less ardent in his favor. I now told Poinsett that with regard to the consequences of his vacating his seat in Congress I could form no judgment, having little knowledge of the state of politics at Charleston, and no acquaintance with the person who might be his successor; but that if he should decline, I should not offer the mission to the person whom he had recommended to Mr. Monroe.

He asked time for consideration, and promised to give me a definitive answer to-morrow.

Among the numerous visitors of this day to take leave was Joseph Blunt, who recommended Charles King for the appointment of Collector at New York in the event of a vacancy. Blunt asked nothing for himself, but suggested as expedient policy the employment of young men.

In my solitary walk before dinner I met Mr. Calhoun walking in front of his own door, and told him I had offered the Mexican mission to Poinsett. After dinner I went to the Capitol to attend the second lecture of Mr. Owen of Lanark, but it was postponed till Monday evening.

After returning home, I called upon Mr. Rufus King, at his lodgings at Williamson's. His term of service as a Senator expired on the 3d, and he had declined a re-election, intending

to retire from the public service. He leaves the city to-morrow morning to return home. I told him of the nominations I had made, and that I had omitted that for the mission to England at the earnest desire of some of Mr. Clinton's friends. But, I said, the reason assigned by Mr. Clinton for declining the appointment was, in my opinion, one which he could not *reconsider*, nor had I any expectation that he would. I therefore asked Mr. King if *he* would accept that mission.

His first and immediate impulse was to decline it. He said that his determination to retire from the public service had been made up, and that this proposal was utterly unexpected to him.

Of this I was aware; but I urged upon him a variety of considerations to induce his acceptance of it: the general importance of the mission—in my estimation, not inferior to that of any one of the Departments; the special importance to the States of New York and of Maine of certain interests in negotiation with Great Britain; his peculiar qualifications for the conduct of those negotiations; his duty to the country not to refuse services so important, and for which perhaps no other individual would be so well suited; the satisfaction which the appointment, and his acceptance of it, would give to the federal party throughout the Union; the tendency that it would have to heal our divisions and harmonize the feelings of the people; the opportunity which he would afford me of promoting this reconciliation of parties, and at the same time of proving by my example the sincerity of the sentiments avowed in my address. I dwelt with earnestness upon all these motives, and apparently not without effect. He admitted the force of them, and finally promised fully to consider of the proposal before giving me a definitive answer.

On returning home, I found B. W. Crowninshield, who came to take leave. Going to-morrow. Long conversation with him.

6th. I sent this morning for A. H. Everett, and informed him that I had nominated him to the Senate as Minister to Spain. After the morning service, I called upon Mr. Clay at his lodgings, where he is confined by indisposition. Mr. Storrs, of New York, was with him, but soon withdrew. I mentioned to

Mr. Clay the nominations sent to the Senate yesterday, my proposal of the Mexican mission to Mr. Poinsett, and my conversation last evening with Mr. King. Mr. Clay was well satisfied that Mr. King should go to England, but wished that General W. H. Harrison, of Ohio, should receive the appointment to Mexico. Harrison has just now taken his seat as a Senator from the State of Ohio, but is himself exceedingly anxious to obtain the appointment to Mexico, and solicits recommendations for it, of which he has succeeded in obtaining many. Mr. Clay had, however, no particular objection to Mr. Poinsett. He spoke of the threatened opposition to the Administration, and thought it would not be formidable. He did not expect more than three or four votes against the confirmation by the Senate of his nomination as Secretary of State. But Mr. King told me last evening that Mr. Van Buren had assured him the nomination would be opposed, though he (Van Buren) would not join in it. Clay spoke of a letter from General Jackson to Samuel Swartwout just published, and which I had not seen.

Mr. Poinsett called, and accepted the mission to Mexico.

7th. Joseph Anderson, Comptroller of the Treasury, was here this morning, and Samuel L. Southard, Secretary of the Navy, whom I determined to appoint acting Secretary of the Treasury, according to the Act of Congress of 13th February, 1795. I signed two hundred and fifty land-grants and twelve blank military land-warrants. Sent Daniel Brent, Chief Clerk of the Department of State, to the Senate with messages of nominations. The Senate, by a vote of twenty-three to eighteen, decided against the right of James Lanman to sit in that body, under an appointment from the Governor of Connecticut, made during the recess of the Legislature. I had visits from W. Findlay, Senator from Pennsylvania, with Mr. C. W. Weaver; from Levi S. Burr, and Jeremy Robinson, applicants for offices; and from many others. Received also a multitude of letters, applications, and recommendations for office. After dinner, we attended at the Capitol Mr. Owen of Lanark's second lecture, which was nearly three hours long. He read great part of it from a printed book. President Monroe was there, and

Mr. Southard, who told me that the Comptroller, Anderson, made some objection to his acting as Secretary of the Treasury. Said he would call at my house to-morrow morning.

The Senate this day advised and consented to all the nominations of the first message sent them on Saturday. There was no opposition to any of them, excepting to that of Henry Clay as Secretary of State, and that opposition appeared only by the yeas and nays, which were: Yeas—Barton, Bell, Benton, Bouligny, Chandler, Chase, Clayton, De Wolfe, Dickerson, Edwards, Gaillard, Harrison, Hendricks, Holmes of Maine, Johnston of Louisiana, Kane, King, Knight, Lloyd of Maryland, Lloyd of Massachusetts, Mills, Rowan, Ruggles, Seymour, Smith, Van Buren, Van Dyke—twenty-seven. Nays—Berrien, Branch, Cobb, Eaton, Findlay, Hayne, Holmes of Mississippi, Jackson, McIlvaine, Macon, Marks, Tazewell, Thomas, and Williams—fourteen.

From each of the States of New Hampshire, Connecticut, and New York, there was only one Senator, there being one vacancy in each; one Senator from Alabama had not taken his seat; one Senator from Virginia, James Barbour, was absent, being himself nominated as Secretary of War; one from Kentucky, Richard M. Johnson, left the city last week; James Noble, from Indiana, was accidentally absent when the question was taken, came in afterwards, and requested to record his name in favor of the nomination, which, by a rule of the Senate, was not admitted.

This was the first act of the opposition from the stump which is to be carried on against the Administration under the banners of General Jackson. There are, however, besides his own, only two negative votes of his partisans; the rest are caucus Crawfordites amalgamated with the coalition between Pennsylvania and South Carolina. The Crawford men on this occasion have divided, and their votes show that they have finally abandoned Mr. Crawford as a candidate. The votes of the Senators from Georgia, those of the North Carolina Senators, and that of Mr. Tazewell from Virginia, indicate the rallying of the South and of Southern interests and prejudices to the men of the South. Cobb was the man who, in 1819, offered the resolutions in the

House of Representatives against Jackson's proceedings in the Seminole War.

I signed the commissions of H. Clay as Secretary of State, and James Barbour, Secretary of War.

8th. Mr. Southard and Mr. Wirt came together, upon the objection started by the Comptroller, Anderson, to Southard's being appointed acting Secretary of the Treasury. The difficulty was, to his issuing as Secretary of the Treasury warrants upon his own requisitions as Secretary of the Navy. The Attorney-General was of opinion that the question had been settled by the precedent in 1813, when Mr. William Jones, being Secretary of the Navy, was appointed acting Secretary of the Treasury, when Mr. Gallatin went to Russia; and continued in that capacity nine or ten months, the latter part of which while Congress was in session; and there are warrants at the Treasury signed by him upon his own requisitions. The Comptroller, Anderson, seeing the evidence of this precedent, withdrew his objection to Mr. Southard's acting.

Mr. Clay and Mr. Barbour, respectively, took the oaths of office, as Secretary of State and Secretary of War, yesterday, and entered upon the discharge of their duties. I sent to the Senate messages, with nominations, and signed sixteen blank patents. Many of my visitors were members of Congress, who came to take leave, and some were applicants for offices. Mr. Alfred Smith left papers with me requesting a survey of Connecticut River, above Hartford, for improving its navigation.

Dickins came to make definitive arrangements respecting Mr. Crawford's plate. The usual appropriation of fourteen thousand dollars for refurnishing the President's house was made by an Act of Congress at the close of the session. Mr. Crawford being desirous to dispose of his plate, and as there was no probability that he could dispose of it here, I agreed to take it for the public service and pay for it from this appropriation. There were during Mr. Monroe's Administration fifty thousand dollars appropriated for furnishing the house. He had placed the fund under the management of Colonel Lane, who, two or three years since, died insolvent, with twenty thousand dollars of public moneys unaccounted for, which has given rise

to much obloquy upon Mr. Monroe. I have determined, therefore, to charge myself with the amount of the new appropriation, and to be myself accountable to the Treasury for its expenditure. The plate, by Mr. Crawford's desire, has been appraised by two silversmiths: one, Mr. Burnett, of Georgetown, named by Mr. Crawford; the other, Mr. Leonard, of this city, named by me.

Mr. Owen of Lanark told me that he should now proceed upon his visit to Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison, and should return here in eight or ten days. Major Miller came, under great excitement, complaining that Major Smith, a brevetted officer, his junior, had been promoted by a second brevet, while he had been overlooked. I found, upon examination of the law and of a report from Colonel Henderson, that I could not, at least *now*, nominate Miller for a second brevet. But it is a question for future consideration whether he has not an equitable claim to it.

9th. The special session of the Senate, which met as called, on the 4th of March, was this day closed; the Vice-President, John C. Calhoun, having absented himself, according to the usage; upon which John Gaillard, of South Carolina, was elected President of the Senate pro tem.; of which, by a resolution of the Senate, a written notification was delivered to me by Charles Cutts, their Secretary. About two in the afternoon, Samuel Smith and Nathaniel Macon came as a committee to inform me that, if I had no further communication to make to them, they were ready to adjourn; to which I answered that I had no further communication to make. On receiving the report of their committee they immediately adjourned without day. Mr. Macon said he must be at the steamboat for Norfolk at four o'clock.

The French and Russian Ministers came in full costume, and for the purpose of congratulation. They had requested the appointment of a time for this ceremony, and I had named this day for it, but I received them alone in my drawing-room. The Baron de Tuyl made me a short complimentary speech, which I answered with equal brevity. The French Minister made none. General Izard was going to Philadelphia. He

seemed not satisfied with the appointment of Governor of Arkansas, which, he observed, he had neither desired nor expected. He would accept it, however, in the hope that he would be remembered hereafter for a mission abroad. This was what his friends had recommended him for, and to which he thought himself entitled for his own services, and those of his father, during the Revolutionary War, and since.

The Comptroller, Anderson, observed that when he took the objection to Mr. Southard's acting as Secretary of the Treasury he was not aware of the precedent of Mr. Jones's acting during Mr. Gallatin's absence, which completely covered the present case. In the evening I visited Mr. Monroe, at the President's house. He is making preparations for his departure, with his family, but is somewhat delayed by the illness of Mrs. Monroe.

10th. Charles Cutts, the Secretary of the Senate, brought me the resolutions of the Senate advising and consenting to all the nominations I had sent, with the exception of Amos Binney as Navy Agent at Boston, which they postponed. Also the refusal of their advice and consent to the ratification of the Slave-Trade Convention with the republic of Colombia. He had brought me on the 5th the resolution of advice and consent to the general commercial treaty with Colombia, and their advice and consent to the ratification of a recent treaty with the Creek Indians. Mr. Crowell is extremely dissatisfied with the treaty, though his name is affixed to it as a witness, and he seemed disposed to urge that it should not be ratified, notwithstanding the advice and consent.

April 15th. Clay, H. Draft of instructions to J. M. Forbes approved. King of Naples's letter announcing his father's death to be answered. Letter from C. Hughes. Proposal to sell island of St. Bartholomew for five hundred thousand dollars. Dispatches from R. Rush. Slave Indemnity Commission. Jackson has delivered the documents furnished by the British Government. Salmon's application for a second loan of five or six thousand dollars. I inclined to accede to it. Mr. Clay was reluctant, and I authorized him to decline the advance. Appleton's destination changed. A letter has been written to him

announcing it, and the allowance at the rate of four thousand five hundred dollars a year for his new destination.

16th. Southard, S. L. Court of Enquiry upon Commodore David Porter. Letter from Porter to Southard complaining of delay. Bainbridge's objections to sitting in the Court considered—not valid. Importance of appointing an officer senior to Porter to preside. Morris and Wadsworth to be the two others. Case of Captain Isaac Phillips. Conversation relating to it. The evidence adduced by Phillips demolishes his own statements and pretensions. The letters of Simmons and Fuller positively contradict him. Goldsborough's account partially favorable to him. Mr. Southard took back the papers, to make a supplementary confidential report, not to be made public unless it should become necessary.

Samuel Angus's memorial; decision in his case as in that of Phillips. No authority in the President to reinstate him, but a pension equal to half-pay may be allowed him upon application supported by proof. I give written decisions in both cases to be filed in the Department, and copies of all the papers are to be furnished me.

Sullivan, George, wishes me to interpose with P. Hagner, Third Auditor, to press the examination of the Massachusetts claim documents. Expediency doubtful. State of political parties in Boston. Webster's standing and popularity. Recent elections thinly attended.

17th. Little in the evening. Mark xii. 28: "And one of the scribes came, and having heard them reasoning together, and perceiving that he had answered them well, asked him, Which is the first commandment of all?" and the six following verses. He said, "Don't be alarmed at the length of the text, for you will have a very short sermon."

Letter from Commodore David Porter—impatient and angry. Letter from Chevalier Brito, with Millié's translation of Camoens's Lusiad. Evening. Came home in darkness that could be felt, and rain. House locked up, and the porter, Robertson, had carried away the key. Sent for it, and had it returned.

18th. Clay, H., has agreed with Baron Tuyl upon an indemnity to be made to Bryant and Sturgis by the Russian Govern-

ment. Instructions to Raguet. Returned him the draft, proposing omission of a paragraph respecting the slave-trade. St. Domingo. Mr. Clay thinks the independence of the Haytian Government must shortly be recognized. My objections. Review of the course of the late Administration upon that subject. Discussion. Judge in the western district of Virginia. Pindall, Caldwell, Taylor, Breckenridge, Doddridge, etc. Clerks in the Department. Their punctuality to be stimulated.

19th. Barbour, James, S. W., with application from Mr. Jefferson for a payment of fifty thousand dollars on account of interest payable to Virginia by Act of Congress of 3d March, 1825, ch. 108, although the amount is not yet ascertained. The Act of 31st January, 1823, prohibits advances. This, Barbour said, was no advance. I thought it questionable, on the letter of the two laws, but consented that the payment should be made, in consideration of the object and the emergency, and the certainty that the sum payable will be larger.

Southard, S. L., and Wirt. Mr. Southard again objects to the appointment of Bainbridge and Morris, Navy Commissioners, on the Court of Enquiry upon Porter's conduct. Thinks it unpopular with the Navy on account of the connection of the Board with the Department, and for other reasons. I agreed that he should appoint Chauncey, Crane, and Wadsworth.

21st. Clay, H., has settled with Baron Tuyl the claim of Bryant and Sturgis upon the Russian Government for the case of the Pearl on the Northwest coast. Spoke of the instructions to Mr. Miller, as Chargé d'Affaires to Guatemala, and of the answer to Mr. Cañaz, on the proposal for opening the passage between the Atlantic and Pacific; of the Slave Indemnity Convention, and the great probability that it will prove abortive, or must be carried into effect by a new negotiation with Great Britain; of the appointment of a Judge for the western district of Virginia, and very favorably of Pendleton. But the offer is to be made to Baldwin.

23d. Brown, General, had sent me a letter of June, 1823, from Governor Cass to Calhoun, S. W., and his (Brown's) answer to it. Cass's letter urged having troops in force in the Michigan Territory, and fortifying Detroit. Brown's answer

shows different views. Brown said he had been much hurt at the order given by me a few days since without consulting him for continuing the troops at Mackinaw; under the late Administration these arrangements having been invariably referred to him, and no other answer having been given from the War Department to Cass's letter, which he had sent me, than his.

I told him that the memorial of Cass, and the remonstrance from the Legislative Council of Michigan, had, in the absence of Governor Barbour, been sent to me by the Chief Clerk of the War Department, Major Vandeventer, with a recommendation to issue the order, as I did. And I directed the order to issue accordingly, supposing that Vandeventer had communicated with General Brown before he recommended the issuing of the order.

General Brown declared himself satisfied on this point. But, he said, Cass's alarm about an Indian war was very foolish, and he thought the concentration of the troops and the abandonment of all useless posts very desirable.

Messrs. Clay, Barbour, W. C. Somerville, and W. Lee, with Captain Isaiah Doane, successively called, followed by Mr. Southard, who now came upon business, and occupied my time from breakfast till half-past four P.M., without intermission. Mr. Clay had sent me several dispatches from R. C. Anderson, at Bogota, from R. Rush, at London, and from C. Hughes, at Stockholm. The Mexican Minister, Obregon, had proposed to him that the United States should send Ministers to the proposed American Congress at Panama. Mr. Clay strongly inclines to it, and proposed a Cabinet consultation concerning it. In the National Journal of this morning there is a paper relating to this project, which is of great importance; and, besides the objects there noticed as fit subjects for the deliberations of this Congress, that of endeavoring to establish American principles of maritime, belligerent, and neutral law is an additional interest of infinite magnitude. Clay thought it would be a good mission for Mr. Gallatin. This is a grain of mustard-seed.

Mr. Clay read me part of a letter from P. B. Porter, in New York, asserting that De Witt Clinton is inveterately hostile to the present Administration of the General Government, which I

hear also from various other sources. Clay left also with me a letter from C. Hammond, at Cincinnati, Ohio, containing some information.

Mr. Barbour brought me a letter from Mr. Quincy, Mayor of Boston, relating to the execution of a law of Congress of the last session, containing an appropriation for the preservation of the islands in Boston harbor, and a letter from Newell, a Clerk in the War Department, enquiring if the Clerks in the public offices are not exempted from the performance of militia duty by the Act of Congress of 8th May, 1792, under the denomination of Executive officers. I thought they were.

I returned to Mr. Barbour the papers from Governor Cass relating to the Indian murderers, and the proceedings of the Court-martial at West Point on the cadet McNeal.

Mr. Southard brought a letter from General Swift, Surveyor of the port of New York, proposing to make experiments to ascertain the comparative merits of hydrometers, for the execution of a law of the last session authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to change the hydrometer hitherto prescribed by law in the custom-houses (Dycas's).

I thought the law did not authorize experiments; but requested Mr. Southard to ascertain upon what representations the law authorizing the change was enacted.

25th. Jackson came, to solicit a clerkship. Mrs. Baker, to entreat me to release her husband, committed to a loathsome jail yesterday, by an order of Judge Thruston, for the indecency of beating a child of his own on a Sunday. Mr. Hunter, to ask for contributions for building a Methodist church at Detroit, in the Michigan Territory. Mr. T. Cook, merely for a visit. Judge Woodward, to show me letters he had received from Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison relating to the author of the Constitution of Virginia. He also showed me a letter from my father, and I read to him in Niles's Register of last June my father's letter to Nathan Webb, of 12th October, 1755. Mr. Woodward spoke of his project for the establishment of a Department of the Interior, which I told him I thought Congress would not for some time sanction. I mentioned to him the reason assigned to me by Mr. Monroe for omitting the recom-

mendation of it in his last annual message, which was, that having recommended in the same message an increase of the Judges of the Supreme Court, he was apprehensive it would have too much the appearance of a projecting spirit to recommend also additions to the Executive Department.

Mr. Clay informed me that Mr. Addington had requested that I would appoint a time to receive him, to make a communication from his Government of congratulation upon my election. I fixed to-morrow at one o'clock, but observed that if it was a written communication a copy of it should be previously furnished to the Department of State. Mr. Brent afterwards made enquiry of Mr. Addington, and found it was only an instruction from the Foreign Department. Mr. Clay observed that his health was so much affected, and he was so confident of deriving benefit from a journey, as he always had under the same complaint, that he proposed preparing instructions for Mr. R. King upon the single point of the Slave Indemnity Commission, and to postpone the remaining topics until after his return from Kentucky, so that Mr. King may embark without delay.

To this I readily assented, convinced that it would occasion no real delay. It was also agreed that Mr. Somerville should be allowed to postpone his departure for Sweden till July or August, to accomplish his matrimonial project with Miss Cora Livingston, at New Orleans, his salary not to commence till he shall depart upon his mission.

Dispatch from James Brown, at Paris, with confidential copies of the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Zea Bermudez's, answer to the notification from the British Cabinet of their intention to recognize the South American independents, and of a letter from London, showing the dissatisfaction of Russia, Austria, and Prussia at the British recognition.

26th. Southard, S. L., proposes to pay three millions of the six per cent. stocks, redeemable this year, on the 1st of July, and the other three millions the 1st of October. There will not be funds in the Treasury to pay the whole on the 1st of July. I asked him if the Bank of the United States would not undertake to pay the whole on the 1st of July, receiving in-

terest upon any balance which might be due from the Treasury until refunded. It could not exceed ninety days—probably not sixty.

He will enquire, but thinks this would not be legal.

At one, Mr. H. U. Addington, Chargé d'Affaires from Great Britain, came in form, and said he was instructed by his Government to offer me their congratulations upon my election to the office of President of the United States; and that he could not execute those instructions better than by reading them to me. He accordingly took the dispatch from his pocket and read it to me. It was complimentary, and dwelt especially on the idea that, having myself been at one time the representative of my country at the Court of Great Britain, I had been enabled fully to appreciate the friendly dispositions of the British Government; and it mentioned in terms of high recommendation Mr. Vaughan, the newly-appointed Minister coming to this country.

Mr. Addington said he had also a private letter from Mr. G. Canning concerning the election, which he gave me to read. It was merely an assurance that his personal wishes had been altogether favorable to my election in preference to all the other candidates—particularly as he had supposed that if the election had fallen upon another, I should not have continued in the Department of State.

I desired Mr. Addington to assure his Government that I had received with sensibility this communication; that I considered it among the most fortunate circumstances of my life that I had been instrumental, first in restoring peace between our two countries, then in adjusting important concerns of navigation and commerce between them, by Conventions which had promoted harmony and friendly intercourse; afterwards, by my residence for two years as the Minister of the United States in England, and finally, for eight years, as a member of the late Administration; that it had been one of my predecessor's most ardent wishes to cultivate a good understanding with Great Britain; that, concurring with that desire, it would still influence my conduct. The policy of the Government would remain the same. Mr. Vaughan, when he

should arrive, would be very cordially received. The character given of him by Mr. Canning would insure him a welcome, and I hoped he would have every reason to be satisfied with his residence here. And I took this occasion to say that whatever his own destination was to be, no person could, by his conduct, make himself more acceptable than he had done. If he was to remain here, we should be gratified. If he should leave us, we should regret the loss of him, and hope that he would go only in the line of promotion.

He was much pleased with this testimonial, and said he had never been anywhere more kindly treated than here.

I desired him to thank Mr. Canning for the friendly expressions of his private letter, and to say that I had before been indebted to him for obliging attentions, which were well remembered, although the acknowledgment of them had been neglected by me. I alluded to his having sent to me, through Mr. Rush, a copy of one of his speeches. I added that, as a manifestation of my earnest wish for harmony with Great Britain, I had selected for the mission to that Court, as he was no doubt aware, a person who had already been many years in England in that capacity, and who had been always advantageously known and much esteemed there. Finally, I desired him to express the great satisfaction which I had felt, and with the concurring sentiment of this nation, at the determined stand taken recently by his Government in recognizing the southern nations of this hemisphere. It was delightful to find Great Britain openly and explicitly pledged in support of liberal principles of national independence, and the more so, as we were well informed the taking of that step had produced a crisis requiring at once all the firmness and prudence which any statesman could display.

He said he would not fail in the proper manner to communicate to his Government these remarks.

W. C. Somerville came, and repeated the application for leave to postpone his departure upon his mission to Sweden for about three months to go and be married at New Orleans; to which I assented, but observed that it would be for his own interest to repair as soon as possible to his post, believing that

considerable changes were even now taking place in the politics of Europe, and that there would be much information to be collected and transmitted.

27th. Barbour, S. W., came concerning the purchase of ordnance and the questions of contested rank between officers; left with me the papers relating to all these subjects. J. Reed, member from Massachusetts, complains that the ordnance is all purchased from three or four founderies at extravagant prices, instead of advertising for competition, as the law requires, for contracts of supplies. The argument for the founderies from which the purchases are made is, that they are very expensive establishments, got up during the late war at much hazard, and in the Government's time of need, in the confidence that the Government would purchase exclusively from them; and, as there is no demand for the articles but for the Government, the competition of others, if encouraged, must be ruinous to them. The subject has already been brought to the notice of Congress the three sessions last past, but they have not acted upon it. Mr. Barbour advises to continue the exclusive purchases as heretofore, that it may be mentioned in the annual report relative to the condition of the War Department, so that Congress may act upon it if they think proper. He told me he had answered two late letters from the Governor of Georgia asking the appointment of Commissioners on the part of the United States to run boundary lines between the States of Georgia and Alabama, and between Georgia and the Territory of Florida. With the first the United States could not comply, unless at the proposal of Alabama as well as of Georgia, and so Governor Troup had already once been answered a year since. For the line between Georgia and Florida, Commissioners might be appointed by the Government of the United States, but an appropriation for it will be necessary, and it will be recommended to Congress at their next session.

H. Clay reported the substance of his conversations with Obregon, the Mexican, and Salazar, the Colombian Minister, upon the proposal of a Congress of American Ministers to be held at Panama next October. Mr. Clay continues earnest in the desire that a Minister should be appointed to attend this

Congress. Mr. Barbour urges many objections against it, and on Mr. Wirt's return from Baltimore I propose to have a meeting of the members of the Administration to consult upon the expediency of it.

Samuel Pooley, a journeyman mathematical instrument-maker, of New York, brought and presented to me a box of miniature knives, forks, razors, and scissors made by himself. I told him I made it a general rule to accept no presents, but would make an exception in this case, considering it as a remarkable example of skill and ingenuity, which I should be glad to exhibit as such to my friends.

28th. General Brown came, and had a long conversation with me upon the question of rank between several officers in the army. In that between Gaines and Scott, he thinks Gaines has the right. He took back a letter from Governor Clinton to him, giving the opinion that there is no use in retaining a military post at Niagara. The General appears not pleased that the school of practice at Old Point Comfort, or Fortress Monroe, should have been detached from the general administration of the army and taken under the special charge of the War Department. He attributes it to Mr. Calhoun's excessive thirst of regulating reputation, and turning everything into instruments for the promotion of his own popularity. He spoke also of the new Army Regulations, which he took care to have established by an order from Mr. Monroe, issued almost on the last day of his Administration, but which I told Brown I should take the liberty to revise.

29th. Southard, S. N., concerning the payment of the six million six per cents. of 1812. He has ascertained that the funds in the Treasury will not suffice to make the payment on the 1st of July, and concludes to make it the 1st of October next. Notice is to be issued accordingly. A payment on the 1st of July would save forty-five thousand dollars of interest; and, as the sum in the Treasury will then be within less than a million sufficient, I proposed to effect it by an arrangement with the Bank of the United States; but Mr. Southard thinks it not authorized by law. Mr. Biddle, the president of the bank, called on me, and I spoke of it to him; but he did not

favor it. Biddle was to leave the city this day, returning to Philadelphia.

Parker, Daniel, brought a memorial respecting the settlement of his accounts. He claimed double rations as Adjutant-General, which the Auditor thought him entitled to, but which Cutts, the Second Comptroller, denied, by the direct interposition of the late Secretary of War—Calhoun. Parker desired of me a general direction to the accounting officers of the Treasury to settle his accounts on the same principles as those of others, but I told him that was the precise question of the case—that is, whether his office as Adjutant-General was one of those entitled to double rations; that if the Second Comptroller would state the specific ground of the question, I would decide it, but could not with propriety give any such general direction, which would be merely equivalent to ordering them to do their duty.

Nourse, Joseph, Registrar, proposes to introduce to me a Mr. Gallaudet, employed in the Treasury. I showed Mr. Nourse the erroneous charge in the statement of my accounts, printed with the report of the committee on those of Mr. Monroe. He afterwards sent me a letter, with the copy of my account, and the acknowledgment of the error.

Clay, H., preparing instructions for A. H. Everett and R. King. He proposes to postpone those of Mr. King, excepting upon the Slave Indemnity Commission, till after his return from Kentucky; to which I assented. He read me a letter he had written to General Gaines, resenting the conduct of Gaines's Aid, Lieutenant Butler, whom General Brown had introduced to Clay in my antechamber, where they met the other day. Butler, who is a connection of General Jackson, evaded taking Clay's proffered hand, and yesterday Gaines left a card at Clay's lodgings, but Butler did not. Clay, in his letter, said to Gaines that he had supposed Butler's reason for withholding his hand had been because he had a cutaneous disease.

30th. Brown, General. Conversation with him concerning the new Army Regulations, the disputes for rank of Burd and Lomax, and the claim of Captain Baker; the school for artillery practice at Point Comfort, and the general condition of

the army. In the case of Lomax and Burd, the rank having been settled during the suspension of the rules of promotion upon the reduction in the army in 1821, the General thinks it ought not to be unsettled. The claim of Baker he thinks just. In the Army Register of this year that officer was displaced by an arbitrary act, and the date of his commission set down as about two years later than it had really been issued. I told General Brown I should certainly correct this procedure, and not permit the repetition of it. Brown spoke in high terms of Abraham Eustis, and said he thought he should be brevetted.

Clay, H., brought letters from C. Hughes and S. Smith, of Baltimore. Hughes's enclosed copy of an answer received by him from G. Canning, which has put him out of his wits with exultation—his letter is a dissertation to prove that the whole science of diplomacy consists in giving dinners; and Smith thinks that our diplomatic appointments have not strengthened the Administration. Clay wishes to hasten his return to Kentucky, and has had pressing invitations to receive public dinners on the road. I advised him not to decline them. He spoke with great bitterness of the appointment by McLean, the Postmaster-General, of H. Lee to some informal office in that Department.

Day. Since my removal to the Presidential mansion I rise about five; read two chapters of Scott's Bible and Commentary, and the corresponding commentary of Hewlett; then the morning newspapers, and public papers from the several Departments; write seldom, and not enough; breakfast an hour, from nine to ten; then have a succession of visitors, upon business, in search of place, solicitors for donations, or for mere curiosity, from eleven till between four and five o'clock. The heads of Departments of course occupy much of this time. Between four and six I take a walk of three or four miles. Dine from about half-past five till seven, and from dark till about eleven I generally pass the evening in my chamber, signing land-grants or blank patents, in the interval of which, for the last ten days, I have brought up three months of arrears in my diary index. About eleven I retire to bed. My evenings are not so free from interruption as I had hoped and expected

they would be, nor have I the prospect of methodizing the distribution of my time to my own satisfaction. There is much to correct and reform, and the precept of diligence is always timely.

May 2d. Clay, H. Is preparing the instructions for R. King, as Envoy to Great Britain, upon the Colonial Trade question; thinks there is more than plausibility in the British claims, and that we ought to concede something on this point. Case of H. Lee.

5th. Angus, late Captain, came again upon his application for re-instatement in the navy. I had both in his and in Isaac Phillips's case decided that I had no constitutional power to restore to his rank and employment an officer dismissed from the service by one of my predecessors. Angus appealed powerfully to my sympathy; said he had no other means of subsistence; asked me to nominate him anew to the Senate, and in the mean time give him an acting appointment as Captain. He would take rank at the bottom of the list, rather than lose everything. I came with Angus from Gothenburg to the Texel, and have for him a kind personal feeling. But I could neither restore nor renominate him. His state of mind is not suitable for a new appointment, and would disqualify him for responsible active service. I advised him to consult his friends whether it would be advisable for him to apply to Congress, and told him I believed his best course would be to apply for a pension. I had no doubt he would be entitled to one equal to half-pay for life.

Clay, H., came with a Quaker named Barnes, of Barnesville, Ohio, who brought several memorials, with numerous signatures, requesting an alteration in the direction of the projected continuation of the Cumberland Road. Barnes wishes it to pass through the place of his residence, which bears his name, and argued his cause with earnestness. He will see me again to-morrow, and, in the mean time, call on the Secretary of War.

Mr. Clay came again, and expressed the wish to go next week on his visit to Kentucky to bring his family here. I desired him to have a commission made out for Philip C. Pendleton as Judge of the western district of Virginia. I received

a letter from R. King, mentioning that he had engaged a conditional passage for England; to sail the 1st of June. His instructions for the present will be principally upon the slave indemnity.

6th. Southard, S. N., with the proceedings of the Court of Enquiry upon the first charge against Porter. He protests against the competency of the Court, a majority of its members being officers his juniors. Mr. Southard said Angus had gone off this morning for New York. But last evening his deportment at his lodgings had been so wild, and his menaces of murder against Mr. Southard so marked, that Southard received a warning to be upon his guard and keep him at a distance. He has repeatedly uttered similar threats, and at one time Southard went armed for several days, to be prepared for self-defence. He cannot in any manner be restored usefully to the service.

Barbour, S. W. Claims of rank by Major Lomax and Captain Baker. The former considered as settled by the last Administration. Lomax contends that the decision was illegal. His argument is founded on a variation of phraseology in the Acts of 1815 and 1821. There is plausibility in his claim, but perhaps nothing more. In Baker's case, Mr. Barbour thought there was nothing to be done but to correct the Register's misstatement of the date of his commission.

I told Mr. Barbour I inclined to think that proposals should be issued for the supplies of ordnance, without admitting the exclusive pretensions of the three founderies from which all the purchases have been made of late years.

Elgar, Commissioner of the Public Buildings, brought me a letter requesting me to decide upon the designs which have been presented for a bas-relief in the tympanum of the Capitol, for which a premium of five hundred dollars was offered by advertisement in the newspapers. I said I would in two or three days call at the Capitol and see them.

Southard, S. N., again in the evening. Captain Porter, after protesting against the Court of Enquiry as incompetent, and withdrawing from it, this morning sent to Mr. Southard a number of papers relating to his transactions at Foxardo, ap-

parently with the intention that they should be laid before the Court. Southard said Mr. Clay's opinion was that he ought to return the papers to Porter, declining to receive them and lay them before a Court before which Porter himself refused to attend. Southard said his own impression had been to receive and transmit them without comment to the Court.

My first sentiment coincided with that of Mr. Clay; but, on reflection, I thought it better to make no points with Captain Porter not absolutely indispensable, and to give him every possible advantage of trial.

There are also a number of papers received at the Department of State from the Chargé d'Affaires of Spain, Salmon, translations of which Mr. Southard left with me, and is to call again to-morrow morning.

7th. Cabinet meeting at two. Clay, Barbour, and Southard present. Wirt absent at Baltimore. Barnes, and the continuation of the Cumberland Road. Clay strongly averse to any change. Several letters and remonstrances received against Barnes's application. Congress of American Ministers at Panama. Question whether the United States will be represented there. Clay and Barbour decidedly in favor of it. Southard suggests objections, but acquiesces. Salazar and Obregon to be answered that we accede generally to the proposal, but think that the meeting cannot be held so early as next October. Time will be necessary for arranging and agreeing upon the objects of negotiation and modes of proceeding. Critical condition of the island of Cuba. Fisheries. A vessel to be stationed for their protection on the coasts of Maine and New Brunswick. A garrison also to be stationed in Maine to preserve the timber on the contested territory from depredation. Governor Barbour, Secretary of War, to write concerning it to the Governor of Maine.

9th. Rode with John to the City Hall and Capitol, where I inspected the designs for the tympanum of the Capitol; none of which were satisfactory or appeared to be deserving of the premium offered. Mr. Elgar and Mr. Bulfinch proposed to send them to my house; to which I assented.

10th. Southard, S. N., brought the report of the Court of

Enquiry upon the first of the two charges against Captain Porter—the invasion of the island of Porto Rico at Foxardo. The enquiry upon the second charge, a neglect of duty for the transportation of specie, was instituted at the request of Captain Porter himself, and, he having withdrawn and protested against the competency of the Court, they left it undecided whether they were to pursue the enquiry upon the second charge. Southard proposed to discharge them from the former precept, but to send them another precept to assemble again at the same time and place and enquire and report upon the matter of the second charge.

I thought it would be better merely to direct the Court to proceed to the enquiry concerning the second charge under the original precept.

Graham, George, returned from his visit to Kentucky. I asked him to send me from the Land Office a minute of all the land-grants in blank, and hereafter a minute of the numbers in which they may be disposed of. The practice of signing an indefinite number of all public documents, as patents, land-grants, and commissions, has its inconveniences and dangers. I must confine it within narrow limits, and require the return to me of every blank signed by me and not issued.

Persico, the sculptor, brought to my house the design model for the tympanum of the Capitol; the other models and designs were also brought and set up in the unfurnished long room.

Barbour, S. W., came with the new volume of Army Regulations, compiled by General Scott, and declared by Mr. Monroe to be in force. He brought also the remonstrance of the proprietor of the foundery in Virginia, in which Mr. Wirt is concerned, against issuing a notice inviting a competition of proposals for supplying ordnance. And Mason, General John, came to plead the cause of his foundery at Georgetown, upon the same argument, a pledge being alleged to have been given by the Government to employ his foundery. Letters from Mr. Monroe, when Secretary of State, and from Commodore Rodgers, as President of the Navy Board, are produced, promising employment for a time; but that has passed. Mason

spoke also of the proceedings and suspension of the Slave Indemnity Commission, being an agent for many of the claimants.

Clay, S. S., came with Mr. Bailey, the person who was sent in February, 1815, immediately after the ratification of the treaty of peace, to recover the slaves that were at Tangier Island, but without success. He now lives in Washington County, Maryland, and Mr. Clay sent for him that he might give particular information respecting that transaction. Mr. Clay left with me also a draft of instructions to H. Middleton, directing him to urge upon the Russian Government their immediate recognition of the South American Governments, and their good offices to prevail upon Spain to make the same recognition. The principal argument is derived from the critical condition of the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico, the high interest that Spain has to retain the possession of them, which would be entirely satisfactory to us, and the danger that she may lose them if the war should continue much longer.

11th. Signed commissions to Richard Rush, as Secretary of the Treasury, dated 7th March; Rufus King, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Great Britain, dated 5th May; John Alsop King, Secretary to the Legation to Great Britain, dated 5th May. The commission for Mr. Rufus King, sent me to sign, had omitted the limitation to the end of the next session of the Senate. I sent for Mr. Brent, and directed its insertion.

Clay, H., here, and proposed that copies of the instructions to H. Middleton, concerning Spain and South America (to which I agreed), should be furnished to Mr. R. King and Mr. Brown, our Ministers at London and Paris. I fixed for to-morrow, two o'clock, the Cabinet meeting on the report of the Court of Enquiry in the case of Captain D. Porter.

12th. Cabinet meeting on report of the Court of Enquiry upon the conduct of Captain Porter. Present, Clay, S. S., Barbour, S. W., Southard, S. N. Absent, Wirt, A. G. It was determined that Porter should be tried by a Court-martial for the affair at Foxardo, against the opinion of Southard, who thought the Executive should pass a direct censure upon him. He was distrustful of the decision of naval officers upon the

case; apprehensive that they would justify him, in the face of the merits of the affair. I said I had not that distrust. I believed they would do their duty, however unpleasant it might be. They would themselves be under responsibility to their oaths, to the country, and to the world. But, whatever their sentence might be, the Executive will have done his duty. The trial will have been according to the laws of the land, and of nations. The accused will have had secured to him the benefit of a trial by his peers, and all the advantages which the law could secure to him.

Mr. Clay and Governor Barbour were both decidedly of the same opinion.

Southard suggested the difficulty of forming a Court-martial, especially with a majority of its members senior in commission to Porter. There are but seven captains his seniors on the list; and of these, Rodgers and Hull are absent; Stewart is upon trial himself; Chauncey sat on the Court of Enquiry; Bainbridge has expressed an unfavorable opinion of the transaction, and is thus disqualified to sit; and there are grave exceptions against both Barron and Tingey. Still, a Court-martial must be preferred to either of the other alternatives, of receiving the report of the Court of Enquiry, taking no other step, or of passing censure, by a mere arbitrary Executive act. The Court-martial, however, is not to be instituted till the Court of Enquiry shall have reported upon the second charge, of which Southard said he had no doubt that Porter would be honorably acquitted, and that the result would redound to the credit of the navy.

13th. Mr. Clay took leave, and departs to-morrow upon his tour home, to fetch his family. He asked me how long I would give him permission of absence. I told him at his own discretion; being sure that he would not lengthen it without necessity, and understanding, of course, that in case of any sudden emergency requiring his presence here we could give him timely notice of it.

He said he expected to return with his family about the middle of July. He had sent me a letter to him from W.

Brent, member of the House from Louisiana, strongly urging the removal of Sterret, the Naval Officer at New Orleans, as a noisy and clamorous reviler of the Administration, who was concerned in a project of some worthless persons like himself to insult Brent when he passed though New Orleans, at the theatre, for his own vote at the election; which project, however, failed. And Brent's letter says that a vast majority of the people of Louisiana are entirely satisfied with the election. Mr. Clay also urged the removal of Sterret, and observed that with regard to the conduct of persons holding offices at the pleasure of the President, the course of the Administration should be to avoid, on the one hand, political persecution, and, on the other, an appearance of pusillanimity; that so long as the election was pending, every man was free to indulge his preference for any of the candidates; but after it was decided, no officer depending upon the will of the President for his place should be permitted to hold a conduct in open and continual disparagement of the Administration and its head.

I said these principles were undoubtedly correct, but there was some difficulty and great delicacy in the application of them to individuals. If the charge could be specifically brought home to Sterret, of having concerted or countenanced a purpose of public insult to a member of Congress for the honest and independent discharge of his duty, I would not hesitate to remove such a blackguard, as unworthy of holding any public trust whatever. But Mr. Brent only mentions this as a design of Sterret's, never carried into execution. And as a design, it could scarcely be susceptible of proof. Should I remove Sterret by a mere Executive fiat, he would consider himself injured, and immediately demand the cause of his removal. To answer merely that it was the pleasure of the President, would be harsh and odious—inconsistent with the principle upon which I have commenced the Administration, of removing no person from office but for cause; and would lead to the inference that I was ashamed to assign the real cause. That real cause, an *intention* never carried into effect,

would scarcely justify the removal of a man from office, in the public opinion. It would be thought to indicate an irritable, hasty, and vindictive temper, and give rise to newspaper discussions, of which all the disadvantage would fall upon the Administration. Besides, should I remove this man for this cause, it must be upon some fixed principle, which would apply to others as well as to him. And where was it possible to draw the line? Of the custom-house officers throughout the Union, four-fifths, in all probability, were opposed to my election. They were now all in my power, and I had been urged very earnestly, and from various quarters, to sweep away my opponents and provide with their places for my friends. I can justify the refusal to adopt this policy only by the steadiness and consistency of my adhesion to my own. If I depart from this in one instance, I shall be called upon by my friends to do the same in many. An invidious and inquisitorial scrutiny into the personal dispositions of public officers will creep through the whole Union, and the most selfish and sordid passions will be kindled into activity to distort the conduct and misrepresent the feelings of men whose places may become the prize of slander upon them.

Mr. Clay did not press the subject any further.

14th. The Court of Enquiry upon Captain Porter is still sitting, and Mr. Southard again expressed his belief that with regard to the transportation of specie, Porter's conduct would be fully justified.

Mr. Barbour had intelligence from his father, who is convalescent. He spoke of a Mexican expedition against Cuba; then of the very critical state of affairs between the State of Georgia and the Creek Indians; brought me a letter from the Agent, Crowell, of 27th April, complaining of the Governor of Georgia.

Mr. Barbour said he would make a report upon the question of rank between Generals Gaines and Scott. The correspondence between those officers was extremely acrimonious. Mr. Barbour's opinion coincides with that of General Brown; decisively in favor of Gaines. The question ought to have been

decided by the last Administration, but it was evaded by Mr. Calhoun, on the pretence that it was merely an *abstract* question! Scott, however, produced a private letter from Calhoun to him, written when it was expected that the command of the army would be vacated by the decease of General Brown, and promising it in that event to Scott.

I renewed the attempt to journalize morning and evening.

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